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Medieval Small Towns in the Central Welsh Marches

An Analysis of their Development

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts

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2016

Abstract

This thesis explores the development of a group of small medieval towns in the central Welsh Marches. It has adopted a multi-disciplinary approach to this process in order to gain a better understanding of the nature of town development in this particular region, which covers a compact area on the borders of eastern Powys, north-west Herefordshire and south-west Shropshire. Four towns of comparable size were chosen as case studies. These were Clun, Knighton, Presteigne and Kington. A range of archaeological, historical, architectural, cartographic and place-name data was gathered for each town, which was then combined with an urban plan analysis to construct a developmental timeline. The topography, routes and relationships between the towns and their settlements was considered, along with the wider cultural influences prevalent in the region during the medieval period.

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Abbreviations

CIPM	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
CMHTS	Central Marches Historic Towns Survey (1992-96)
CPAT	Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
EPNS	English Place Name Society
GGAT	Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust
HER	Historic Environment Record
HERE	Herefordshire
LB No.	Listed Building Number
MSRG	Medieval Settlement Research Group
OE	Old English
OS	Ordnance Survey
RCAHMW	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Wales
SHR	Shropshire
UMRG	Urban Morphology Research Group
WNFC	Woolhope Naturalists Field Club

Declaration

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The length of the text of this thesis is approximately 49,540 words (excluding tables, figure captions, bibliography and appendices).

The type face used in this thesis is Calibri pt size 12 for body text with 1.5 line spacing throughout.

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I would also like to dedicate this thesis to my mum and dad. I know they would have been keenly interested in this project.

1. Introduction

The borderland between Wales and England has been subject to many influences over the last two millennia, from prehistoric Bronze and Iron Age settlers, through to the Roman invasion of Britain and the rise of Welsh and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, ending with the Norman Conquest and the subsequent establishment of the region known today as the Welsh Marches. This has resulted in a unique cultural mixing pot, rich with man-made and natural landscapes, which stretch from the Dee Estuary in the North to the Severn Estuary in the South.

There are however, distinct geographical differences between the north, central and southern Marches. Overall, the region is a mixture of uplands and lowlands with Wales effectively separated from much of England by a ridge of mountains on its eastern border. To the north lie the Cheshire and north Shropshire plains, in the centre, the forests and hills of south Shropshire and the Herefordshire plains, giving way to the Wye Valley and Forest of Dean in the south. This varied geography, like the many peoples that have settled the area, has contributed to its unique regional character.

Much is known about the major towns in the Marches such as Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford and Gloucester, thanks to the wealth of their archaeological remains, historical records and the targeted research of many scholars (Shoesmith, 1982, 1985; Garner et al, 2009; Baker, 2010). Even more modest towns such as Ludlow and Leominster have received their fair share of attention (Conzen, 1988; Slater, 1990; Hillaby and Hillaby, 2006). In all these cases, the evolution of the towns can be demonstrated, not only by analysing the extant records (archaeological and historical), but also by considering their natural topography and rural and urban landscape development.

But what about the smaller towns along the border? Did they develop in the same way as their larger neighbours? Is it possible to use the same type of sources that are available for the larger towns in order to be able to construct a reliable developmental timeline for them? Can you construct a timeline if you do not have the same depth of

data to draw on? These are just some of the questions this dissertation hopes to address by analysing the available data for four small “typical” border towns and their hinterlands in the central border region of the Welsh Marches.

The four towns in question are Clun, Knighton, Presteigne and Kington, which run along the Welsh/English border in a north-south orientation. They all lie in a compact area comprising south-west Shropshire, north-west Herefordshire and eastern Powys and are all roughly five miles apart. This area has been chosen as it represents one of the least studied during the medieval period and no previous major studies have been conducted on any of the towns.

A multi-disciplinary approach will be adopted to gain an understanding of the nature of town development in the study area by employing a range of sources and methods to illustrate the process. The sources will come from archaeological, landscape and architectural surveys, Historic Environment Records (HERs), historical documents and maps, and place-name studies. The data will be examined alongside the topography, routes and relationships between the towns and their hinterlands, in conjunction with a plan analysis exercise, to explore the development of their medieval urban form.

1.1 The Aim of this Research

Historically, the borders of all three counties have been “fluid” over time in the study area, whether as a result of being much contested by the British, Romans, Welsh, Anglo-Saxons and Normans, or as a result of the successive administrative regimes imposed by these groups on the region. What effect therefore, has this mixture of cultural influences had on the population, landscape and urban development in the study area? This is the primary question this research hopes to address.

However, it would be impossible for a Masters dissertation to adequately cover the major influences on the area from pre-history to the present day. An analysis of the medieval period alone has therefore been chosen. This represents a critical period in the

development of the towns as they moved from estate farmsteads in the early medieval period to the prosperous towns they became towards its end.

The principle research aim of this dissertation is therefore:

To examine the development of four case study towns in the central Welsh Marches region during the medieval period, by adopting a multi-disciplinary approach to the analysis and interpretation of the available data, and a consideration of the wider influences acting upon the region.

1.2 The Study Area

1.2.1 A Brief Introduction to the Towns

The study area encompasses the four small towns of Clun, Knighton, Presteigne and Kington and their immediate hinterlands. See figure 1 below.

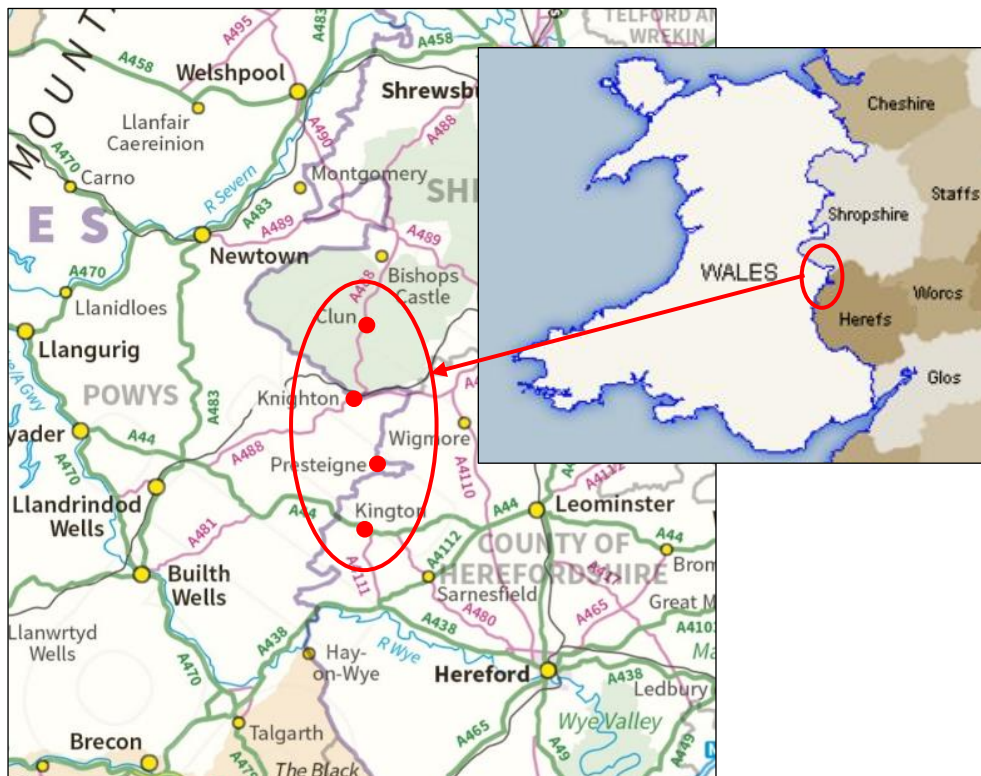


Figure 1. The four study towns (Digimap and TravelUK, 2016).

The most northerly town in the study area is Clun, located in the Clun Forest in south-west Shropshire. It is bisected on a north-south and east-west axis by the modern A488 and B4368 respectively, laying on both sides of the river from which the town takes its name. The river rises in the west at Anchor on the Welsh/English border, flowing in an eastwards direction, cutting through the high ground of Clun Forest before turning abruptly south to join the River Teme just outside Leintwardine, in north Herefordshire. It has given its name to many of the settlements along its course such as Clunton, Aston on Clune and Clungunbury.



Figure 2. Clun – looking towards the castle with the town in the background (English Heritage, 2016a).

Today the town is little more than a small village, having a population of no more than 700. However, at the time of the Domesday survey in 1086 it was a large thriving manor, easily one of the biggest in the south-west Shropshire. The remains of the later castle with its three baileys and extensive earthworks, are still evident rising above the river on its original motte and looking towards the church on the opposite side. The town retains its medieval footprint, which shows a degree of planning in the regular street pattern north and south of the river. Church Street links both parts of the town via the medieval river bridge. The area around the church is thought to have been the site of an earlier Anglo-Saxon settlement (see later discussion in Chapter 3).

Five miles south, the modern A488, possibly on the line of a much earlier route, links Clun to Knighton. The town straddles the longest earthwork in Britain, Offa's Dyke. The

River Teme approaches from the north-west, forming the northern boundary of the town, before departing to the east. Towards the centre, the motte and bailey of the medieval castle sits at the top of a steeply sloping site, now completely surrounded by later housing. The church stands some distance from the castle in a north-easterly direction, possibly indicating they were not contemporary, although, like Clun, there appears to be some form of early medieval planned layout between them. Intriguingly, there is another motte (known as Bryn y Castell) on high ground to the south-east of the town centre. Its origins are unknown, although there has been much contradictory speculation about who constructed it (the Normans or the Welsh) and whether it was erected before or after the town centre castle.



Figure 3. Knighton market place and clock tower - looking towards High Street (©David Audcent, 2013).

Knighton is at the southern edge of the elevated land around Clun Forest. As a result it is mostly dominated by high wooded hills which gently decrease towards the south. The town is at the intersection of two old drover routes from Montgomery to Hereford and Aberystwyth to London, and still retains a livestock market today. The railway station and some of the residential areas to the north of the town are in Shropshire - the Teme defining the border at this point between the counties of Powys and Shropshire.

Five miles south again, along the B4355, the town of Presteigne lies in the Upper Lugg Valley on the very eastern edge of Powys where it meets the English/Welsh border with north-west Herefordshire. The River Lugg, which approaches from the west, flows around its northern and eastern boundaries, before departing in a south-easterly direction towards the plains of north-west Herefordshire. A tributary of the Lugg, the Hindwell Brook, runs from its source in the Walton Basin (a nationally important archaeological landscape) to the south of the town to join the Lugg at Combe (two miles to the east of the Presteigne).

The town is laid out on land that rises gently westwards from the Lugg and is orientated along a north-west/south-east axis due to its proximity with the river and a series of hills to the west. The historic part of the town still retains much of its core medieval layout with individual shops and houses fronting directly onto the principal roads, following the pattern of the earlier burgage plots. The oldest buildings, namely the remains of a Norman motte and bailey castle and the “Saxon” Church of St Andrew, are located to west and east of the town respectively.



Figure 4. The Church of St Andrew, Presteigne – looking towards the south elevation (RCAHMW, 2016).

The last of the towns and another five miles south of Presteigne, is Kington which lies on the edge of the north-west Herefordshire plains close to the English/Welsh border with Powys. The River Arrow approaches from the south-west, forming the southern boundary of the town. Bradnor Hill to the north and Hergest Ridge to the west, channel the Back Brook past the northern boundary of the town to join with the Arrow at its eastern edge. Offa's Dyke lies to the east.

There are two distinct historic areas in the town. The area around Castle Hill to the west and High Street and Bridge Street to the south east. Both of these areas are linked by Church Road and form the original medieval footprint of the town. The houses along High Street and Bridge Street were laid out on relatively low lying land near a bridging point of the River Arrow and still retain their earlier burgage plot plan. The oldest buildings in the town are the remains of a Norman motte and bailey castle and the 12C Church of St Mary, both situated on Castle Hill.



Figure 5. 17C Royal Oak Inn, Church Street, Kington (TA, 2015).

1.3 Previous Work on this Research Topic for Wales and the West Midlands

Although little targeted academic research specifically relating to the study of the historic development of the case study towns and their landscapes during the medieval

period has been carried out in any great depth, they have been included in wider studies of the region such as the *Central Marches Historic Towns Survey* and the *Historic Settlements Survey of Radnorshire* (both carried out in the 1990s), and the recent *Historic Landscape Characterisation Surveys* of Herefordshire and Shropshire Councils. Presteigne is alone amongst the case study towns in having a late medieval/early modern buildings survey carried out by the Royal Commission on Ancient Historic Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW) - one of only a handful of towns in Wales investigated in this way so far. These studies are discussed in more detail in *Section 1.5 - Sources and Methods*.

Most studies of the case study towns are in the form of popular “histories” written by local authors. These often contain an overview of the town’s history and development during the medieval period but not in any great detail, and tend to focus on major events or local families that have shaped the towns (eg. Parker 1997, 2012; Howse 1945, 1950; Lloyd, 2013; Sinclair and Fenn, 1995; Clark Maxwell, 1921). Lord Rennell of Rodd a local landowner and past president of the Royal Geographical Society, also wrote about the history and geography of the region (eg. *Valley on the March: a history of manors on the Herefordshire March of Wales*, 1958) and contributed to the *Society* journal.

However, there have been several important works that have contributed to a better overall understanding of the development of medieval towns across Wales and its borderlands during the last fifty years. One of these was Harold Carter’s *The Towns of Wales*, published in 1965. Carter, an urban geographer, wanted to present “an analytical account of the towns in Wales from a geographical standpoint” and in doing so drew heavily on a range of related disciplines such as urban history, sociology and economics. Much of his work dealt with the morphology of the town from pre-urban nuclei to the mid 20C and encompassed all the “ingredients” that present day scholars would use in considering the development of a historic urban landscape. For example, he considered the historical phase of town growth and the relation between functions, position and site, urban hierarchy and spheres of influence. He acknowledged that castle towns made

up a large proportion of existing Welsh towns and devoted a lot of time to their analysis. His work amply illustrated that the lines between individual disciplines are often blurred when it comes to an analysis of the historical development of a town and its hinterland.

A little later (1969), Dorothy Sylvester, a historical geographer, set out to investigate the evolution of the landscape of the Welsh Marches by considering the influences which had shaped it over time. In her wide-ranging book, *The Rural Landscape of the Welsh Borderland: A Study in Historical Geography*, she considered what effect the various ethnic groups who had inhabited and fought over the region, had had on its landscape from pre-history to the 19C. Her detailed analysis of the region and its individual counties, included a consideration of its topography, geography and history, in addition to utilising archaeological findings, place-name and map analysis.

One of the last major studies to look at the development of Welsh towns in a multi-disciplinary way was *The Medieval Towns of Wales* (1983) by Ian Soulsby, a former director of the Welsh Urban Archaeology Research Unit (based at Cardiff University). Here, Soulsby supplemented his earlier survey and classification work of Welsh towns with historical and topographical material, to produce a gazetteer of over 100 towns. Each entry included a simplified map of each town as it would have appeared towards the end of the 14C, showing major features such as castles, defences, religious buildings, roads and rivers, plus a short summary of his historical development.

1.4 Research Priorities for Medieval Wales and the West Midlands

By necessity, archaeologists have tended to focus on the larger regional picture in order to shape their research priorities and to gain the best understanding they can, for as wide an area as possible, with the limited resources available to them. This has resulted in several archaeological assessments/audits being carried out on both sides of the border since the early part of the new millennium and research priorities drawn up as a result. Since then, these archaeological frameworks have been refined, with some of the previously prioritised research now completed and fed back in to the latest frameworks.

Both the Welsh and English (specifically the West Midlands) versions split the frameworks into time periods. Of particular relevance to this dissertation are the early medieval and medieval research priorities, which are highlighted below.

1.4.1 The Archaeological Research Framework for Wales

a) *Early Medieval Wales: An Updated Framework for the Archaeological Research* (Edwards, Lane and Rednap, 2011) is an update of the original 2005 document, *Early Medieval Wales: A Framework for Archaeological Research*. In it, the authors stress the importance of the period in the formation of Wales and its identity and acknowledge that the archaeological evidence should be assessed as part of a wider inter-disciplinary approach, in order to gain a fuller picture of the development of the region. Research themes from the *Early Medieval Framework* with direct relevance to this dissertation include:

- The relationship between church sites and the pattern of secular settlement
- The relationship and interaction between different political and cultural groups in the early medieval period

b) *A Research Framework for the Archaeology of Wales: Medieval* (Davidson and Silvester, 2013) is an update of the original document of the same name published in 2005 (and its first review of 2010). Like the early medieval framework discussed above, the medieval framework acknowledges that the archaeological evidence cannot be easily divorced from the study of the wider medieval period through other disciplines such as history, architecture, building and landscape studies and settlement morphology.

Research themes from the medieval *Framework* with direct relevance to this dissertation include:

- The relationship between settlements and their hinterlands

- The development of medieval townscapes through urban characterisation and morphology
- The location and purpose of earthworks, castles and town defences

1.4.2 West Midlands Regional Research Framework for Archaeology

Unlike the Welsh *Framework*, which includes all the counties of Wales, the West Midlands *Framework* only covers the English counties of Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire. It was published as one volume in 2011 entitled, *The Archaeology of the West Midlands: A Framework for Research*.

a) *The Post-Roman and the Early Medieval Periods in the West Midlands* (Hook, 2011) is the final published version of this period in the *Framework*, which consisted of a series of earlier papers on the same subject and formed part of the original data gathering and assessment exercise. Here, the early medieval period is acknowledged as being one of the least visible archaeologically, and that the formation of a settled and developed landscape during this period has underpinned subsequent growth in the area. Also, the expansion of the Kingdom of Mercia from its heartland in the Trent valley and its gradual amalgamation of the territories of the smaller Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the Hwicce, Magonsaete and Wrecensaete, in the south and west of region, is of great significance. The research priorities from this period are quite broad but those which are explored to some extent in this dissertation include:

- The search for evidence of early medieval rural settlements
- Identification of early minster sites

b) *The Medieval Period* (Hunt, 2011), like the early medieval contribution above, is the final published version of earlier works, which have gone into the *Framework*. This period in the region is characterised by the introduction and development of a new political and social order, the expansion of settlements and the church, changing

relationships between landlords and tenants and the commercialisation of society as a whole.

Not surprisingly, the research priorities for this period cover many topics, as it is such a crucial stage in the development of much of the urban and rural landscape we still see today. Some of the themes explored from this period in the dissertation are:

- Urban settlement and hinterlands
- Castles, moated sites and manorial complexes
- The church in town and country

As can be seen by looking at the research priorities listed above for Wales and the West Midlands, there are distinct overlaps between the two. These themes include the role played by the church, the development of settlements, hinterlands, castles and defended sites. Whilst these are only a small proportion of the overall priorities of each *Framework*, they serve to place the research material from this dissertation within the wider context of national research agendas.

1.5 Sources and Methods

The formation of a town and its subsequent development is often a protracted process, with each layer of occupation building upon another until you are left with only a tiny glimpse of what may have been in the past. The whole process can sometimes take many millennia, in the case of large Roman towns like Chester and York, or only a few hundred years, like the more modestly sized coal mining towns in the south Wales valleys. Trying to unravel the developmental puzzle as accurately as possible requires a range of sources and methods from archaeological investigations to historical documentation, with many related disciplines in-between, such as architectural and landscape history, geography and geology and topographical and place-name analysis.

1.5.1 Sources

The sources used in this dissertation fall into two main categories: archaeological and historical (written). Other sources consulted are cartographical, architectural, topographical and place-names studies. Since the range of potential sources is very wide, the aim has been to be selective in their use and to only utilise those that will be of direct benefit in establishing a medieval timeline for town/urban development *within the study area*. Archaeological records consulted will therefore span pre-history through to the late medieval/early modern period, to establish whether there was any early human settlement in the area and its possible influence on later town development. Historical documents will be confined to the medieval period only.

Primary written sources are few and far between for the study area during the early medieval period, a situation not helped by an almost complete lack of any previous academic research. If there are records out there – they have not been found yet! Early written histories of the time such as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and the writings of Gildas (*The Ruin of Britain*), Bede (*The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*) Asser (*Life of King Alfred*) and the *Annales Cambriae* (a collection of documents, Welsh royal pedigrees and annals dating from the 440s to the 950s) are of very limited use, but do serve to place the case study towns in context of what was happening nationally.

Some of the earliest regional records are only peripheral to the study area, such as a late Anglo-Saxon charter of 958 between King Edgar and his thegn Ealhstan, for a grant of land at Staunton-on-Arrow (Finberg, 1961), approximately 4 miles south-east of Presteigne. The Domesday Book remains the earliest definitive record of late Anglo-Saxon manors in the area and gives a brief snap-shot of life at that time, albeit only putting the barest covering of flesh on the bones of early pro-towns.

Not surprisingly, written records increase after Domesday and the formation of the Marcher Lordships, although few survive from their earliest administration of the region. The first comprehensive records date from the 12C onwards in the form of land holdings,

taxation records, wills and court, pipe and manorial rolls. None of these primary sources has been consulted in their original form. Transcripts from a variety of sources (such as local Record Offices and historical societies) have been used.

Archaeological records have been taken from Historic Environment Records (HERs) held and maintained by the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust (CPAT) and Shropshire and Herefordshire Councils, through their own online HER databases. Additional archaeological information has come from Archwilio, the national Welsh Archaeological Trusts' online database and the Heritage Gateway Portal for England. The National Monument Records (NMRs) from the RCAHMW and their online database, Coflein, have also been consulted. All of the above agencies have undertaken extensive archaeological, landscape, monument and buildings surveys, and produced many reports, papers and journal articles of their work, some of which have informed this research.

Of particular interest are the *Central Marches Historic Towns Survey* which comprised a desk-based study of 64 smaller historic towns in Shropshire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire carried out in the mid-1990s, and the *Historic Settlements Survey of Radnorshire* carried out at the same time by CPAT, on behalf Cadw and the then Radnorshire District Council. Both of these surveys included Clun, Knighton, Presteigne and Kington and formed the starting point for further research into the towns and their hinterlands. A historic buildings survey of Presteigne carried out by the RCAHMW as part of a wider survey of Welsh historic buildings was also consulted. The survey itself resulted in the publication of *Houses and History in the March of Wales: Radnorshire 1400 – 1800* by Richard Suggett in 2005.

It is also worth noting that a lack of large scale development in the study towns means that archaeological excavation evidence is limited and on a small-scale. Most archaeological investigations that have been done are usually as a condition of a planning application and involve minor excavation work, such as an exploratory trench,

or a watching brief. Not all of these types of investigations result in a published report, although most are reported in the HER.

Several local history and archaeology field groups, namely, the Radnorshire Society, Woolhope Naturalists Field Club and Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society, have produced many short scholarly articles for their journals on all aspects of the historic environment in Radnorshire, Herefordshire and Shropshire since their foundations in 1930, 1851 and 1877 respectively. Some of these articles have included research on the towns in the study area during the medieval period. For example, a group of Presteigne documents (Howse, 1952) which referred to early street names, has proved invaluable for reconstructing the town's developmental sequence.

Early cartographic material covering the study area specifically is sparse and of limited use. County maps like Saxton's *Atlas* (1578), Camden's *Britannia* (1607) and Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611), are of too small a scale to be useful, although a map of Clun Forest from Lord Burghley's *Atlas* (1595) shows an interesting area known as the Tempsiter, which was supposedly set aside for the Welsh during the medieval period. Ogilby's road maps (1675), have been useful for confirming the main routes in the area but do not show much detail regarding street layout and building pattern. Later enclosure and estate maps are also of limited use in building up a picture of a specific town, showing as they do the buildings and land of that particular estate. Taken collectively across the whole of the study area and used as a regression exercise, they would undoubtedly assist in establishing early field management and farming practices. However, this has not been done in any great detail for this research due to time constraints and the depth of investigation required (which would be more commensurate with a doctoral thesis). The most useful maps that have been utilised are the early Ordnance Survey maps.

Various historic landscape surveys and studies have been widely consulted, including publications from the Society for Landscape Studies. Both English Heritage (now Historic

England) and the RCAHMW have been involved with Marches Uplands Projects (Stoertz, 2004 and RCAHMW, 2000) and have produced comprehensive reports on these. English Heritage also began a national programme of historic landscape character assessments in the 1990s in order to facilitate the management of the historic countryside, by integrating them into local authority supplementary planning guidance. These assessments were recently updated and the reports produced by Shropshire and Herefordshire Councils have been used to provide an overview of the landscape of the study area through time. Wales, has not been so fortunate with a county-wide national historic landscape character assessment programme. Instead, a *Register of Landscapes of Historic Interest in Wales* was compiled in 1990s, through a partnership with Cadw, the then Countryside Council for Wales (CCW) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS UK). Fifty eight historic landscapes were identified and assessed by the Welsh Archaeological Trusts, all of which have now been completed, although none impact on the study area.

A collection of place-name publications have been used to investigate the origins of towns in the study area. Some of these have been standard reference guides such as the Oxford and Cambridge dictionaries, where more detailed studies, like those from the English Place-Name Society (EPNS), have not been available for the areas in question. Luckily, a British Archaeology Report (Copleston-Crow, 1989) filled in the gaps not covered by the EPNS for Herefordshire. Welsh town origins have been covered by *The Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales* (Owen and Morgan, 2008), the first major publication from the University of Bangor's Place-Name Research Centre. The seminal place-name studies by Margaret Gelling have also been referenced (*Signposts to the Past*, 1978; *Place-Names in the Landscape*, 1994; *The Landscape of Place-Names*, 2000).

1.5.2 Methods

A range of methods have been utilised to determine the medieval urban development of the towns in the study area. Firstly, a data gathering exercise was undertaken. This involved reviewing the sources discussed earlier for information relating specifically to

the study area towns during the medieval period. Next, a street by street list of the historic properties and structures/monuments within each town was constructed, along with their corresponding HERs and a brief description (where possible) of the “evidence” for their date of construction. This was carried out to facilitate the final part of the exercise, which involved undertaking a plan analysis of the medieval urban form of each town using the methodology developed by Conzen (1988), Baker and Slater (1992) and Lilley (1995, 1996, 2000), as discussed later in Chapter 2.

In addition to the above, the early routes between the towns and their hinterlands was examined in order to explore whether they were part of a wider network of early medieval settlements. This was done by examining early OS maps, supplemented by landholding and manorial data from the Domesday Book. Place-name analysis was also used to help date the settlements and give a possible indication of their early form and function. The wider influences on the study towns were also explored, such as Christianity and ethnicity, in order to place them within their historical context.

Lastly, all of above was used to explore the medieval urban development of each town by considering the individual and collective influences that had shaped them.

1.6 The Structure of the Dissertation

As we have already seen, the first part of Chapter 1 includes an introduction to the dissertation and the definition of its principle research aim. This is followed by an overview of the study area and a brief introduction to each of the case study towns. Previous work on this research topic, the rationale for choosing the study area, the research priorities and archaeological research frameworks for Wales and the West Midlands, and a final discussion of the sources and methods used, complete this chapter.

Chapter 2 explores the study of historic towns and their landscapes in general, emphasising the multi-disciplinary approach used by this subject. It will look briefly at

its origins and subsequent evolution within a British context, and how it has developed over the past sixty years. It will highlight some recent research on medieval towns in Wales, Herefordshire and Shropshire, and discuss the case for treating the small medieval town as a special settlement type that is distinctly different from larger towns and rural settlements.

Chapter 3 starts with a brief overview of the history of the study area to set the case study towns within the context of their wider landscape. It then examines the available (and relevant) evidence for each town, discussing its nature and limitations. Certain key pieces of evidence such as Domesday Book entries, place-names and castles are common across all the towns and these are discussed in more detail. It concludes with a brief summary of each town's development based on the previously examined evidence.

Chapter 4 is in two parts. The first explores the wider influences that have shaped the study area during the medieval period such as Christianity and ethnicity, in order to place the towns within their historical context. The second part builds upon the evidence presented in Chapter 3 to explore the medieval urban form and development of each town using a plan analysis methodology. Lastly, a developmental timeline is proposed for each plan unit and the town as a whole.

Chapter 5 reviews the evidence from Chapter 3 and the data analysis from Chapter 4, in order to present an overview of the themes and influences that have acted collectively on the study towns during the medieval period. It also considers the limitations of the work and whether the research aims have been met.

2. The Study of Historic Towns and their Landscapes

The study of the historic development of towns and their landscapes is largely due to early pioneers like Hoskins and Beresford (see later discussion). It uses the traditional disciplines of history, archaeological and geography, and combines them with place-name research, historic geography and urban morphology, to look at town and landscape development in a more integrated way. The town is no longer viewed in isolation (as a purely historical exercise for example) but in relation to its natural environment and the way its inhabitants have shaped it over time.

Since the study of the subject borrows from many disciplines, it would be impossible to discuss all the key figures and their works who have in some way contributed to its making. Instead, Section 2.1 will look briefly at its origins and subsequent evolution within a British context, highlighting the key figures who have shaped the subject over the last sixty years. The aim here is to emphasise the multi-disciplinary approach taken by researchers to the study of historic towns and landscapes in order to explain why this dissertation is adopting the same approach. Section 2.2 explores some recent work on medieval towns in Wales, Herefordshire and Shropshire, while Section 2.3 discusses the case for treating the small medieval town as a special settlement type that is distinctly different (or should be treated differently) from larger towns and rural settlements.

2.1 Origins and Evolution

William Hoskins was one of the early pioneers of landscape and local history studies, and his seminal work, *The Making of the English Landscape* (1955), is still in print today – a testament to its durability as a guide that encourages its readers to consider why the landscape looks the way it does. He was at the beginning of the movement to utilise a multi-disciplinary approach to the understanding of the landscape (including towns) and used a mixture of aerial photography, maps, documentary sources, archaeology, place-name research and fieldwork to achieve this. The work was not without its flaws though and statements like “Nearly every village on the map of England today – except in certain industrial districts – existed by the eleventh century and is described in Domesday Book”

(Hoskins 1955:38) and “... not a single sixteenth-century cottage appears to survive in England” (Hoskins 1955:123) are now obviously misguided. However, the book still remains an excellent introductory guide to the study of the landscape, despite some of its inaccuracies (Johnson, 2005; Roberts, 2013).

A close contemporary of Hoskins, Maurice Beresford, began his landscape and urban studies investigating deserted medieval villages, from which came many publications on the subject, including *The Lost Villages of England* (1954). In his early work, Beresford focused on the topography of an area to help identify the presence of lost settlements. In other words, he looked at what the “lumps and bumps” could tell him about a particular site. Later on, he developed this technique to investigate the evolution of the urban form in existing historic towns and in 1957 published his highly influential *History on the Ground*, of which he said it “tries to rest on a sound foundation of documents and maps” (Beresford 1957:13). Whilst he may have started his urban or rural landscape journey with documents and maps, he always ended it with fieldwork, and like Hoskins, often utilised aerial photography to help decipher what he saw, as with his later work, *Medieval England: An Aerial Survey* (1958) with Kenneth St Joseph.

Building upon his earlier work and a decade later (1967), Beresford turned his attention to medieval “planted” towns across England, Wales and Gascony - towns that were deliberately founded or expanded by Edward I, or under his direction. These were a remarkable achievement for their time, often incorporating defensive elements such as castles, town walls and a gridded street pattern, which allowed good lines of sight and the easy transportation of goods. Beresford’s work on the subject was again highly influential and his legacy far reaching. Two recent interactive online projects illustrate this; *Mapping the Medieval Urban Landscape* (which also draws heavily on techniques developed for urban plan analysis by M R G Conzen – see later discussion) from Queen’s University Belfast, and *Beresford’s Lost Villages* from the University of Hull (the project was made possible by a bequest to the university from Beresford himself).

Historical geography is closely allied to the study of urban and rural landscapes. It takes elements of economic and social history, history and geography to examine how humans have shaped their natural environment over time. An early practitioner of the genre and a contemporary of Hoskins and Beresford was Clifford Darby, who used historic and geographic evidence to “reconstruct” early landscapes. Two of his best known works include the seven volume *Domesday Geography of England* (1952 to 1977) and *A New Historical Geography of England* (1973), which was later published in two volumes – pre and post-1600.

At the same time that Hoskins and Beresford were investigating the rural and urban landscape, M R G Conzen, was developing his technique of urban plan analysis, which he used to great effect on the medieval towns of Alnwick (1960), Newcastle-Upon-Tyne city centre (1962) and Ludlow (1988). He argued that by using a large-scale map (coupled with aerial photography and field work) to analyse the streets, plots and buildings of a historic town, clues about its origins and development could be revealed. The methodology which Conzen pioneered is now used in the analysis of both historic and modern urban landscapes. His extensive body of work is kept (appropriately) at the *Urban Morphology Research Group* (UMRG) at the University of Birmingham, which still practises the “British” Conzenian morphological tradition (Baker and Slater, 1992; Baker and Holt, 2004; Slater, 2000; Larkham, 2006).

The techniques and approaches developed by members of the UMRG on historic towns is particularly relevant to this dissertation, as it will be used to analyse the urban fabric of the case study towns. Keith Lilley in particular has made a major contribution to the study of the medieval urban form over the last twenty years and he, probably more than any other member of the Group, has further refined the subject in respect of medieval towns. Like Conzen, his earlier work focused on the study of smaller towns (Lilley 1995, 1996) which are arguably easier to analyse than larger towns and cities. However, in his paper, *Mapping the Medieval City: Plan Analysis and Urban History* (2000) he used the city of Coventry as an example to demonstrate that the same plan analysis techniques

could be used regardless of the size of the urban centre. Essentially, his methodology comprised four stages: select an appropriate base map (usually 1st edition Ordnance Survey), use it to define the plan units (plots and streets that share similar morphological coherence), map historical material onto the town plan and finally analyse the individual plan units alongside their morphological histories to create a map which details the changing form of the medieval town.

Some of Lilley's most recent collaborative projects have involved mapping the historic fabric and form of towns and cities using geospatial technologies (eg. GNSS/GIS/GPS). Of particular interest are the online interactive *Mapping the Medieval Urban Landscape: Edward I's new towns of England and Wales* (2005), *Mapping Medieval Chester* (2009), *Place and Perspective in Medieval Swansea* (2014) and *British Historic Towns Atlas* (ongoing).

Modern research into historic towns and their landscapes therefore owes much to the legacy of people like Hoskins, Beresford, Darby and Conzen. The late Professor Mick Aston for example, openly acknowledged the contribution these early pioneers made to the study of landscape and urban archaeology, in his own extensive work on the subject. Like them, he always advocated a multi-disciplinary approach and did much to raise the profile of the subject. He authored many publications, often in collaboration with other academics. Some of the most relevant here are *Interpreting the Landscape* (Aston, 1985), *The Landscape of Towns* (Aston and Bond, 2000) and *Interpreting the English Village: Landscape and Community at Shapwick, Somerset* (Aston and Gerrard, 2013).

Aston in particular drew on earlier work done by Glanville Jones (1961) on the "multiple estate model" which looked at the relationships and arrangements between settlements. Here, a "head manor" was supplied with goods and services from subsidiary manors or farmsteads, each of which was a "specialist" supplier of items such as grain, cattle, wood, etc. Jones based his original theory of the multiple estate theory on a Welsh model which he suggested may have been in operation as early as the Iron

Age and which subsequently persisted through to the Roman occupation of Britain and beyond to the mid-Saxon period (Aston, 1985; Roberts and Barnwell, 2012).

The multi-disciplinary approach to urban and rural landscape studies is still being developed by many academics, often working in collaboration (like Lilley's GIS-based historic mapping projects) or as contributors of papers to collected works on the subject. For example, the recent *Medieval Rural Settlement: Britain and Ireland, AD 800 – 1600* (Christie and Stamper, 2012) from the *Medieval Settlement Research Group* (MSRG) was a major assessment and regional review of the last 60 years' work on medieval settlement. The breadth of research covered was considerable with contributions from academics in the fields of archaeology, history, urban morphology, historical geography, landscape history and economic and social history.

2.2 Some Recent Work on Medieval Towns in Wales, Herefordshire and Shropshire

Although a multi-disciplinary approach to urban and rural landscape development is now well established, most recent work on the subject in Wales seems to stem from archaeological excavation and research. Chris Gerrard (2003) drew attention to this when reviewing the excavation and fieldwork on medieval urban centres:

“... especially impressive was the increase in urban excavation in Wales. Investigations in Newport and at New Radnor (Powys) were promptly published to a high standard (Murphy, 1994; Jones, 1998) and a long-running series of excavations in Monmouth (Gwent) in advance of development revealed burgrave plots, defensive features, metalworking sites and stone buildings (e.g. Nenck et al. 1991: 233)” (Gerrard 2003:155).

However, Stephen Rippon in his paper for *Reflections: 50 Years of Medieval Archaeology, 1957-2007* (Gilchrist and Reynolds, 2009) drew attention to the fact that the quantity and depth of research carried out across Wales, England and Scotland on the medieval landscape during the last fifty years did not seem to be equal. He stated:

“While there is a strong tradition of standing building survey in Wales (eg. Fox and Raglan 1951; RCAHMW 1988; Smith 1988; Suggett 2005), there is a desperate need for more interdisciplinary landscape-based projects akin to Wharram Percy, Raunds, Whittlewood and Shapwick, that embrace the entire medieval landscape of settlement, communication systems, field systems and associated land uses ...” (Rippon 2009:237).

Whilst it is true that there have been few in-depth and multi-disciplinary investigations of individual Welsh medieval settlements during the past fifty years to match those referenced by Rippon above, there have been some, albeit it mainly in the form of archaeological excavation and analysis only. Most of the work has been small-scale and carried out on individual manor houses, farmsteads or house platforms, as opposed to a recognisable settlement comprised of a group of buildings dedicated to particular functions. The following are examples of recognisable settlements.

One of the largest areas to be excavated in Wales was carried out on the deserted medieval village of Highlight (Uchelolau) in the Vale of Glamorgan between 1964 and 1969. The village consisted of a series of crofts and ancillary buildings ranged along a roadway with a church in the north-western corner of the settlement, a moated manor house separate from the village, a mill astride a stream and a possible priest’s house (Silvester and Kisson, 2012).

Another site in the Vale of Glamorgan, Cosmeston, came to light in 1978 when excavations for a country park revealed a deserted village next to a feature known as Cosmeston Castle (GGAT HER 00592s). A group of buildings dating from the late 13C or early 14C and thought to be part of a planned layout, were found either side of an old roadway linking the nearby settlements of Sully and Penarth. However, some earlier pottery (12/13C) was also found below the buildings, indicating the village may be older than first thought. To date, a bake house, two farmsteads, an orchard, fishponds and a dovecote have been excavated. Unusually for Wales, a full-scale reconstruction of the

medieval village on its original site and foundations has now taken place in a collaboration between Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust (GGAT), Cardiff University and the Vale of Glamorgan Council. This is now open to the public and excavations are still ongoing (VoG, 2016).

Another ongoing excavation in Trellech, Monmouthshire has recently been receiving a lot of media attention, thanks to the efforts of a local archaeologist, Stuart Wilson. Today Trellech is a small village but in the medieval period it was a major town in Wales - historical records indicate it had 378 burgage plots in 1288 (Soulsby, 1983). Despite many previous small-scale excavations around the village, it was not until Wilson purchased a field at its southern end in 2002 and started excavating, that the true extent of the earlier settlement was found. He purchased another field in 2005 and to date, the excavations have revealed a two-hall manor house with courtyard and curtain wall, a well and a large round tower plus the remains of at least another five buildings. All of these are thought to date from the early 14C, although evidence of earlier buildings below the current remains indicate the site may have been in existence a hundred years before that (Wilson, 2016).

It would appear therefore, from Gerrard's earlier comments, and the examples of Highlight, Cosmerston and Trellech, that archaeological evidence for Welsh medieval settlements, as opposed to individual buildings is out there. Only Cosmeston has gone beyond excavation alone to reconstruct a medieval village using all available archaeological, architectural and historical data to recreate the buildings as close to the originals as possible.

It should be noted that all the Welsh settlements highlighted above are post-Conquest, although there are some early medieval sites in Wales such as the high status Llandbedrgoch (Anglesey) and LLangors Crannog (near Brecon) and the more modest small nucleated settlement of South Hook (Pembrokeshire), in addition to those investigated as part of the Cadw's *Defended Enclosures Project* (Edwards, Lane and

Redknap, 2011). These sites are relatively small in size (unlike their medieval counterparts) and none have been subjected to large-scale co-ordinated excavation and the subsequent consolidation and publication of data, which would help build up a coherent picture of development on the scale of those for Wharham Percy, Raunds, Whittlewood and Shapwick.

Unlike most of Wales, evidence for the existence of early medieval towns in the West Midlands is relatively good. Anglo-Saxon charters are available for example, which help considerably in the reconstruction of early medieval landscapes (Finberg, 1961). Likewise Anglo-Saxon wills and historical documents (Whitelock, 1930, 1979). A recent study in the form of a PhD thesis illustrates this point. Here, Herefordshire's medieval landscape was investigated by considering its earlier Anglo-Saxon land-unit organisation in the territory of the Magonsaete (later part of the wider Kingdom of Mercia). In this case it was used to argue for the formation of fourteen early-to-mid Anglo-Saxon Minster areas, three of which could have possible British origins, along with parts of the shire's infrastructure (Waddington, 2013). The only comparable documents in Wales which have allowed partial reconstruction of land holdings, are those from the Llandaff Charters, which mainly apply to the south-east of the country only (Davies, 1978, 1979).

Recent research into medieval towns in Herefordshire, has been confined to the larger towns of Hereford and Leominster where most urban archaeological investigation has been taking place (Hoverd, 2003). Indeed, Hereford now has its own comprehensive archaeological research framework (Baker, 2013), reflecting its local and national importance, not only as a medieval town, but also its prehistoric origins and post-medieval continuation. It has also benefitted from a series of regular *Hereford City Excavations* reports over the last 35 years (Shoesmith, 1980, 1982, 1985; Thomas and Boucher, 2002; Pikes forthcoming) and a comprehensive range of town maps produced as part of the *British Historic Towns Atlas*, which charts its historical development from a Saxon burh to the start of the 19C (BHTA, 2016). The most recent comprehensive Leominster study has been documented in *Leominster Minster, Priory and Borough*

c660-1539, which synthesised a range of data (not just from archaeological excavations) in order to present an overall picture of the development of the Minster, its town and hinterlands (Hillaby and Hillaby, 2006).

In common with eastern Wales, Herefordshire is a relatively sparsely populated area and as a consequence, its smaller medieval towns have not received much recent investigation and research into their development, a fact highlighted by Hoverd when he said “A major gap remains in our knowledge of the other existing [Herefordshire] market towns: Bromyard, Ledbury, Kington and Ross” (Hoverd 2003:1). He did however comment that the most extensive recent study was done at Wigmore Castle, along with detailed surveys of Longtown and Richard’s Castle. These latter sites reflecting the same situation in Wales where individual high status structures receive more attention than small medieval settlements.

The situation in Shropshire in terms of recent research into small medieval towns is not much better than Herefordshire. Stamper declared “it remains among the most under researched of the English counties in terms of medieval archaeology” (2003:1). Again, the county town has received the lion’s share of attention with recent work on the Abbey (Baker, 2002), the Old Market Hall (Baker et al, 2006) and the historic town of Shrewsbury itself (Baker, 2010). Previous work on other larger medieval historic Shropshire towns has been quite good and studies that have gone beyond pure archaeological excavation have been done at Whittington Castle, near Oswestry (Salop HER 01003), Wroxeter (Ellis, 2000), Ludlow (Train, 1999; Klein and Roe, 1987), Bridgnorth (Ferris, 1996).

Both the 1990s Welsh *Historic Settlements Survey of Radnorshire* and the *Central Marches Historic Towns Survey* still remain the best source of data for most small medieval towns in the old county of Radnorshire, Herefordshire and Shropshire. The English surveys also include outline medieval and post-medieval urban maps and a discussion of the potential of the buried archaeological deposits, reflecting their original

purpose as documents to inform future archaeological frameworks, investigations and conservation management.

2.3 Small Medieval Towns – a Special Case?

Should small towns be viewed as distinctly different from both larger towns and rural settlements in the way they developed during the medieval period? How do you even define a small town? The answers are not clear cut. For example, a rural settlement may originally have been a collection of buildings grouped around a farmstead, which over time coalesced into a village and then developed into a town. The reverse is also true. A town can also diminish in size as evidenced by the many deserted and shrunken medieval settlements across Wales and England.

There have been several attempts to define “the small medieval town” over the past thirty years. In an article for *Urban History*, in which he reviewed the archaeology evidence alongside recent historical work in order to assess the character and economic changes such towns might have experienced, Astill (1985:46) used the following definition:

“Small towns in this context means those seignorial boroughs and market towns which were smaller than, and in a subsidiary economic position to, the county centres.”

A little later, Dyer (2003) wrote about the same subject but this time focussed on publications and excavation reports for the years from 1984 to 2001, using examples from over sixty towns as opposed to Astill’s nineteen (plus a dozen topographical studies). The main purpose of the paper was to show the value of cumulative research on sites (ie. small medieval towns) which might initially appear to contribute little to the understanding of urban origins.

Dyer discussed how topography, material culture and environment can help distinguish small towns from other settlements and produced a useful table which could be used to differentiate between small and large towns of the later middle ages (or to define different gradations within the range of small towns), by comparing them to a set of criteria (or benchmarks).

Although his approach certainly helps to clarify the identification of a small town by providing a framework of characteristics to look for, and compare against, it suffers from a lack of definition of the comparison variables. For example, when considering the characteristic of “population size” for a small town, Dyer’s material evidence for this is “larger than most villages; 1-4 plan units; occasional suburb” (2003: 102). The size of the village is not described or defined, therefore how do you know if the town in question is larger than the village it is being compared against? In fairness to Dyer, his accompanying notes help to resolve many of these issues, but it does serve to illustrate the difficulty of classifying a small medieval town and the development of any subsequent research strategies to study it.

In an overview paper for the archaeological research framework for smaller medieval towns in the West Midlands, Dalwood (2003) argued that such towns should be viewed as a distinct settlement type different from larger towns and rural settlements. His main reason for suggesting this was that it would help in the development of an archaeological research agenda and management programme for the medieval period in the region. He cited the *Central Marches Historic Towns Survey* as an example.

Echoing comments that Dyer (2003) had voiced earlier, Dalwood also drew attention to the sparsity of archaeological deposits in small medieval towns, characterising them as being relatively shallow and widely dispersed in the town centres, something that Stamper (2003) also flagged up when discussing the research priorities for medieval towns in Shropshire. Stamper suggested that “deposit modelling” could enhance the assessments made in the *Central Marches Historic Towns Survey* and lead to more

targeted research excavations to better understanding small medieval town development. Dalwood ended his paper by commenting:

“One fruitful archaeological approach to smaller market towns would be to work within a comparative framework, seeing different towns as examples of the same settlement type. The goal would be to synthesise archaeological information from a number of different small towns across the region, in order to develop the understanding in a number of thematic research areas (for example, food supply or building types). Such approaches would focus on existing information and offers the potential to produce insights into aspects of towns that are relevant across the region” (Dalwood: 2003:5)

This dissertation will try to address some of Dalwood’s suggestions above (albeit on a much smaller scale) by treating the four case study towns as the same settlement type (ie. small medieval towns) and by synthesising their available data, to produce a comparative analysis of their development during the medieval period.

3. The Case Study Towns

This chapter will examine the available (and relevant) evidence that will be used to construct a developmental timeline for the four case study towns. The first part will start with a brief overview of the history of the study area from its earliest origins to the medieval period, to set the towns within the context of their wider landscape. The second part will discuss each town separately by providing an initial outline of the towns themselves as they exist today, highlighting their important historic features and buildings, before examining the individual evidence for each, discussing its nature and limitations.

The evidence itself has been arranged into several broad categories which are common across all the towns, thus facilitating a comparison to be made between them (which will be discussed in Chapter 4). The categories are: place-names, castle, church, early documents and Domesday Book. Where extra data is available, such as the RCAHMW survey of Presteigne and its historic buildings, it will be highlighted. A brief summary of the each town's development based on the earlier evidence is also included, although this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, when the final data analysis will be carried out.

The pertinent evidence in all cases is sparse. There are only a handful of early medieval charters in existence in the case study area and only one that specifically references one of the towns (Clun). 11C and 12C documentary evidence is also slight and what is available is not evenly distributed across the towns. Only with the advent of the 13C does the situation improve, although the types of documentary evidence readily available, do not throw much light things on things like street names, which would help reconstruct the form of the early towns. Presteigne is lucky in this respect thanks to the endeavours of the Radnorshire Society, who have published some extracts from early documents.

Archaeological material specifically relating to the towns during the medieval period is also limited. Most data comes from chance finds or as the result of watching briefs and reports done as part of a planning application and has subsequently been entered into the county HERs. Only Clun Castle has had some targeted archaeological excavations carried out on it, although investigations carried out by the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club, and in particular by historian Paul Remfry, on castles in Herefordshire and the Welsh Marches, have also proved useful.

Finally, the Domesday Survey of 1086 has been of great benefit in helping to firmly establish three of the towns as late Anglo-Saxon. It has also provided a glimpse into society just before and after the Conquest, especially with regard to land holdings and ethnicity in the region. The fourth town, Presteigne, may yet prove to be of the same foundation date if other evidence is taken into consideration.

3.1 The Topography of the Study Area

The study area is divided into two distinctive zones. The west is characterised by mountains and hills, whereas to the east, low lying fertile ground predominates. The western boundaries of Clun and Knighton intrude into the higher ground, while Presteigne and Kington lie in the flatter, more undulating areas (see figure 6).

The underlying geology of the area is mostly Silurian, although a fault zone which runs diagonally from Craven Arms in Shropshire south-westwards towards Kington in north Herefordshire, has given rise to two different conditions of deposition and thus different landforms on either side. To the south-east of the fault, a series of shallow water deposits over limestone formations alternating with shales, has resulted in a dip-and-scarp topography. To the north-west is Clun Forest, an area of plateau comprised of Silurian mudstones and siltstones, cut through by the river valleys of the Unk, Clun and Teme (Natural England, 2014).

The area of Clun Forest comprises the northern part of the study area, characterised by a mixture of high flat topped and rounded hills, cut through by steep river valleys. The hills to the west are the highest, the eastern ones more isolated and widely spaced.

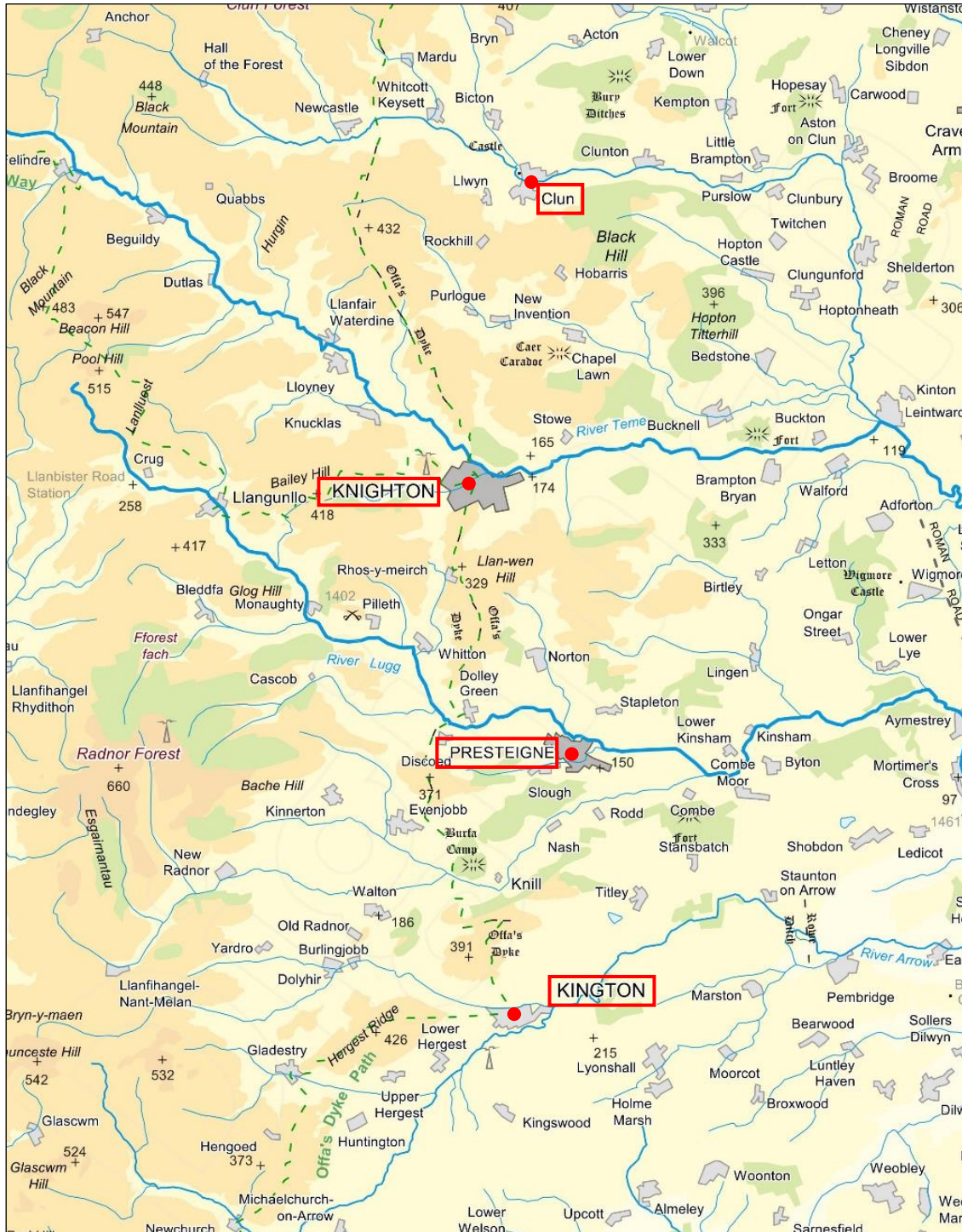


Figure 6. Map showing major rivers and land forms in the study area (Digimap, 2016).

On the western fringes of the forest, the soils are mostly thin and silty, of mixed depth with some clayey deposits, only able to support short-term grassland for stock rearing and dairy cattle, while the uplands here are a mixture of moorland and woodland, only suitable for moderate grazing. Further south, around the Herefordshire-Shropshire border, several isolated areas of later Devonian sandstones and mudstones – outcropping in and around Clun and south-east of Knighton - have given reddish fine loamy soils only suitable for pasturing in these upland areas (Wigley, 2007).

The southern half of the study area forms part of the north-west Herefordshire hills, where there are a mixture of landforms. The north is a mixture of deeply wooded steeply sloping hills, especially around Knighton, giving way to a gentler more undulating lowland landscape in the south around Presteigne and Kington. There is a large area of fertile river meadow to the east of Presteigne, following the route of the River Lugg as it moves into Herefordshire.

Mixed arable and pasture farming is possible here due to good quality silty and free-draining soils. Some areas of upland moors and commons still exist, where the poorer soils and exposed character discourage arable farming. These are mainly used for sheep farming today (Herefordshire Council, 2009).

3.2 A Brief History of the Study Area

The whole study area has evidence of prehistoric human activity in the form of numerous small finds, from the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, such as flints, scrapers and blades. Large structures, often only visible as crop marks and ditches, are also evident. Examples include, a suspected Neolithic earthwork south of Clun church (SHR HER No. 03093), round barrows at Knighton (Jacket's Well CPAT HER No. 1137 – site also includes a burial urn) and Kington (Knowle Farm Here HER 43269), and the multiple occupancy site of Corton Farm on the south-eastern edge of Presteigne, which consists of a Neolithic henge (CPAT HER 122812) and two Bronze Age ring ditches (CPAT HERs

122813 and 122814), plus a hoard of Roman coins (CPAT HER 119425). Figure 7 shows the Bronze Age round barrows and ring ditches in SW Shropshire and NW Herefordshire.

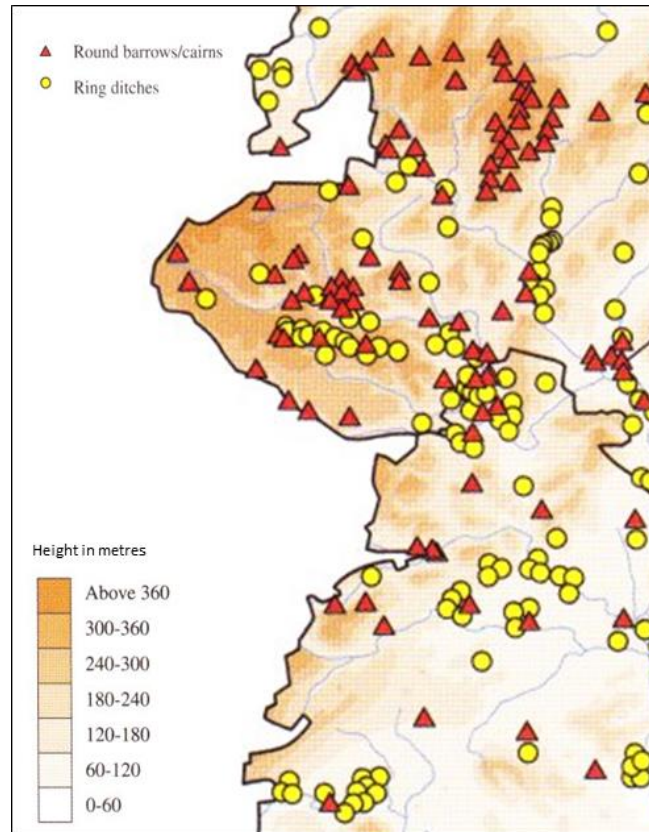


Figure 7. Bronze Age round barrows and ring ditches (Watt, 2011)

Both Clun and the Walton Basin area in particular, have a high concentration of prehistoric artefacts and monuments. The nationally important archaeological area of the Walton Basin lies 5 miles to the south-west of Presteigne and 5 miles to the north-west of Kington (see figure 8). It covers an area of approximately 33km², which extends 9km from east to west and 5km north to south (CPAT Report No. 1195). The towns of Kinnerton, Old Radnor, New Radnor and Burfa roughly form the north, south, east and west compass points of the basin. Human activity in the area dates from the Mesolithic period up to the present day. Known sites include a Neolithic causewayed enclosure, cursuses, palisaded enclosures and ring-ditches, Bronze Age burial mounds, a stone circle and standing stones, Iron Age hillforts and camps, Roman marching camps, a fort and civil settlement and roads, early medieval church settlements, a stretch of Offa's Dyke, medieval mottes and the medieval town and stone castle at New Radnor (CPAT

Report No. 1195 and Britnell, 2013). The site is comparable in scale and importance to Stonehenge and its wider historic environment.

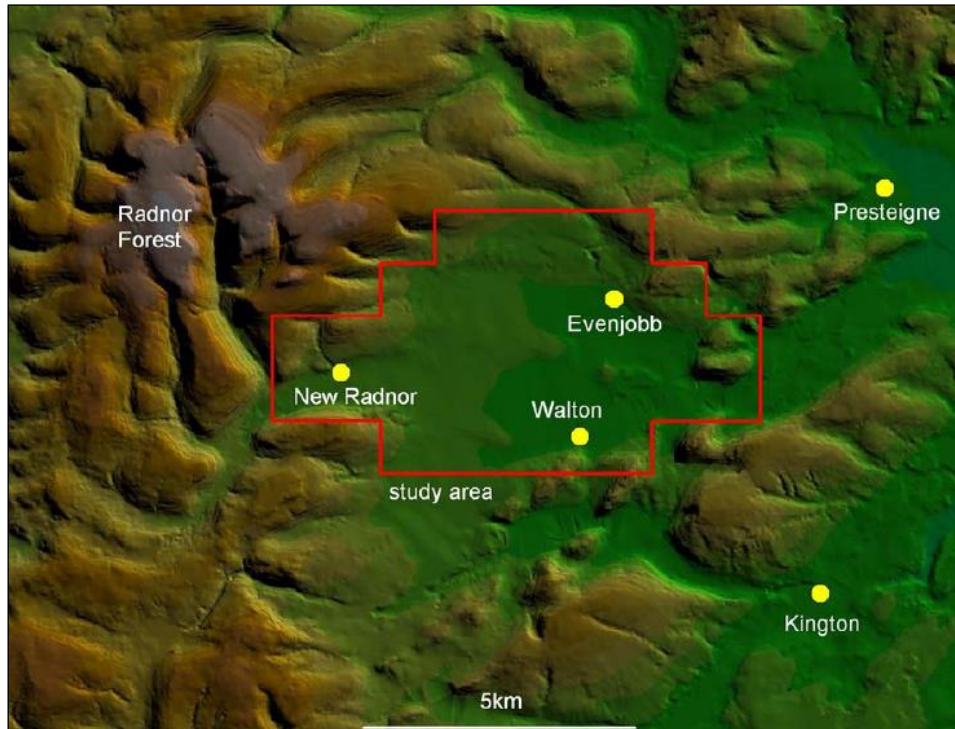


Figure 8. The Walton Basin (CPAT, 2013).

There is also evidence for substantial woodland clearance in the area during this time, leading to the practice of seasonal movement between the uplands and lowlands for grazing cattle. Important transport routes were being established such as the Clun–Clee Ridgeway (SHR HER 00152) in the north, possibly ushering in the start of the Iron Age and the subsequent development of hill forts in the region (Natural England, 2014). Examples include Caer Caradoc Clun (SHR HER 00152), Bury Ditches (SHR HER 00149), Croft Ambrey (Here HER 177) and Burfa Bank (CPAT 312).

Later Roman occupation added another cultural dimension, albeit peripherally, as the main centres of military and civilian occupation are outside the study area. A major Roman road linking Viroconium (Wroxeter) in Shropshire to Isca Silurum (Caerleon) in Monmouthshire, passes to the east of the study area, running through Craven Arms and Leintwardine in the north via Mortimer’s Cross to Stretford in the south (Green, 2004). There is no north-south equivalent to the west of the study area, although two smaller

Roman roads run in a rough east-west orientation from Leintwardine to Castell Collen (Llandrindod Wells) and from Mortimer's Cross (West Herefordshire) via Hindwell (Walton Basin) to Castell Collen (Silvester and Owen, 2003). See figure 9.

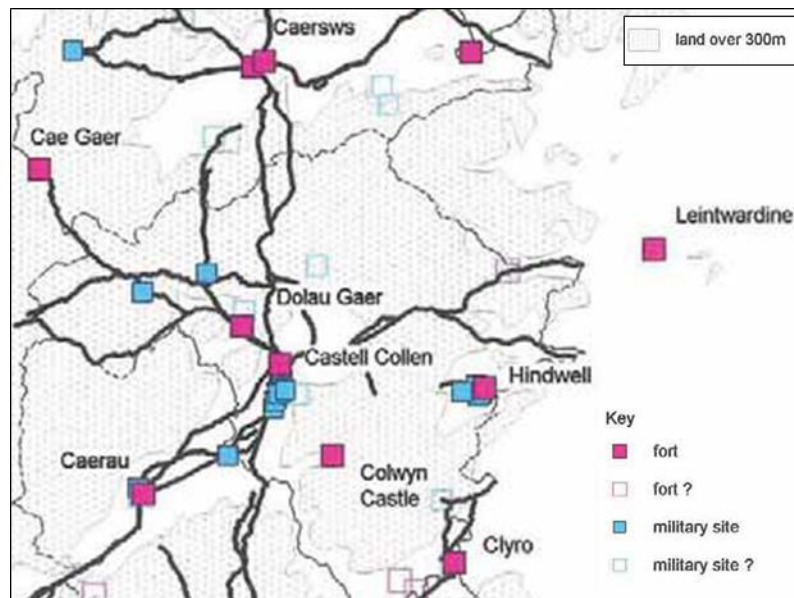


Figure 9. Roman roads in the study area (CPAT, 2003).

The departure of the Romans in the early 5C heralded the start of the early medieval period and saw the formation (or re-establishment) of several small independent Welsh kingdoms in central Wales (see figure 10). At the same time, the westward migration of Anglo-Saxon peoples led to the formation of several independent kingdoms in the English Midlands (see figure 11). Over the next two hundred years, these gradually coalesced into the two dominant kingdoms in the central border region - Powys to the west and Mercia to the east.

Continual border disputes between the two, saw the erection of the great earthwork, Offa's Dyke (see figure 12), by the Mercians in the mid to late 8C, although whether this marked their westernmost border at the time is still debateable.

Scholars (Fox, 1955; Noble, 1983; Hill and Worthington, 2003) still contest the original line and purpose of the dyke, which nominally runs from the Dee Estuary in north to the Wye Estuary in the south, criss-crossing the modern Welsh/English border. It has a

significant presence in the study area, starting 3 miles to the west of Clun and running in a south-easterly direction to Knighton, where it bisects the town before continuing southwards, passing Presteigne 3 miles to the west and halting at Rushock Hill, just to the north of Kington. From here, it appears again to the east of the town in a series of small sections which eventually head off in a south-easterly direction.

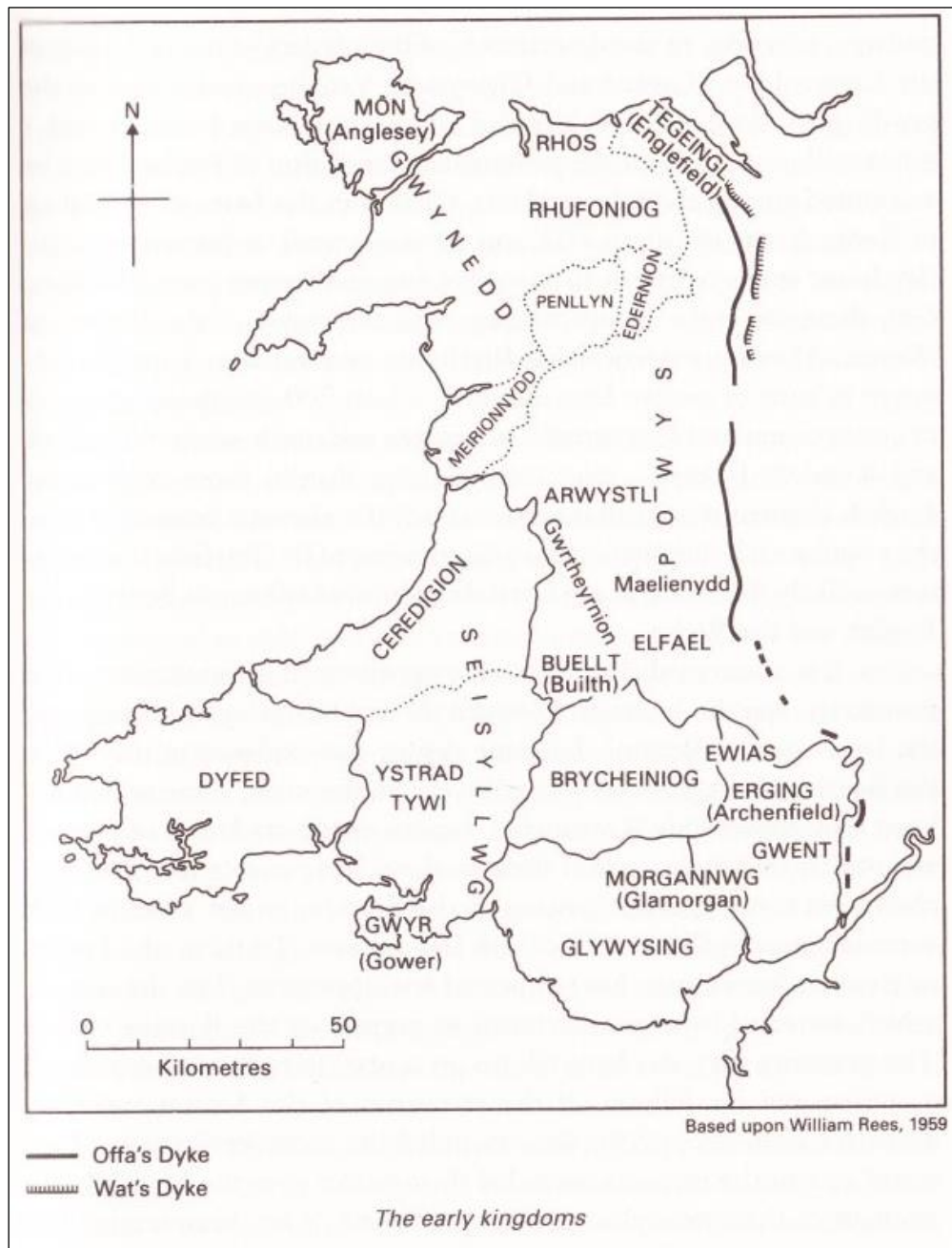


Figure 10. Early Welsh kingdoms c800 (Davies, 2007).

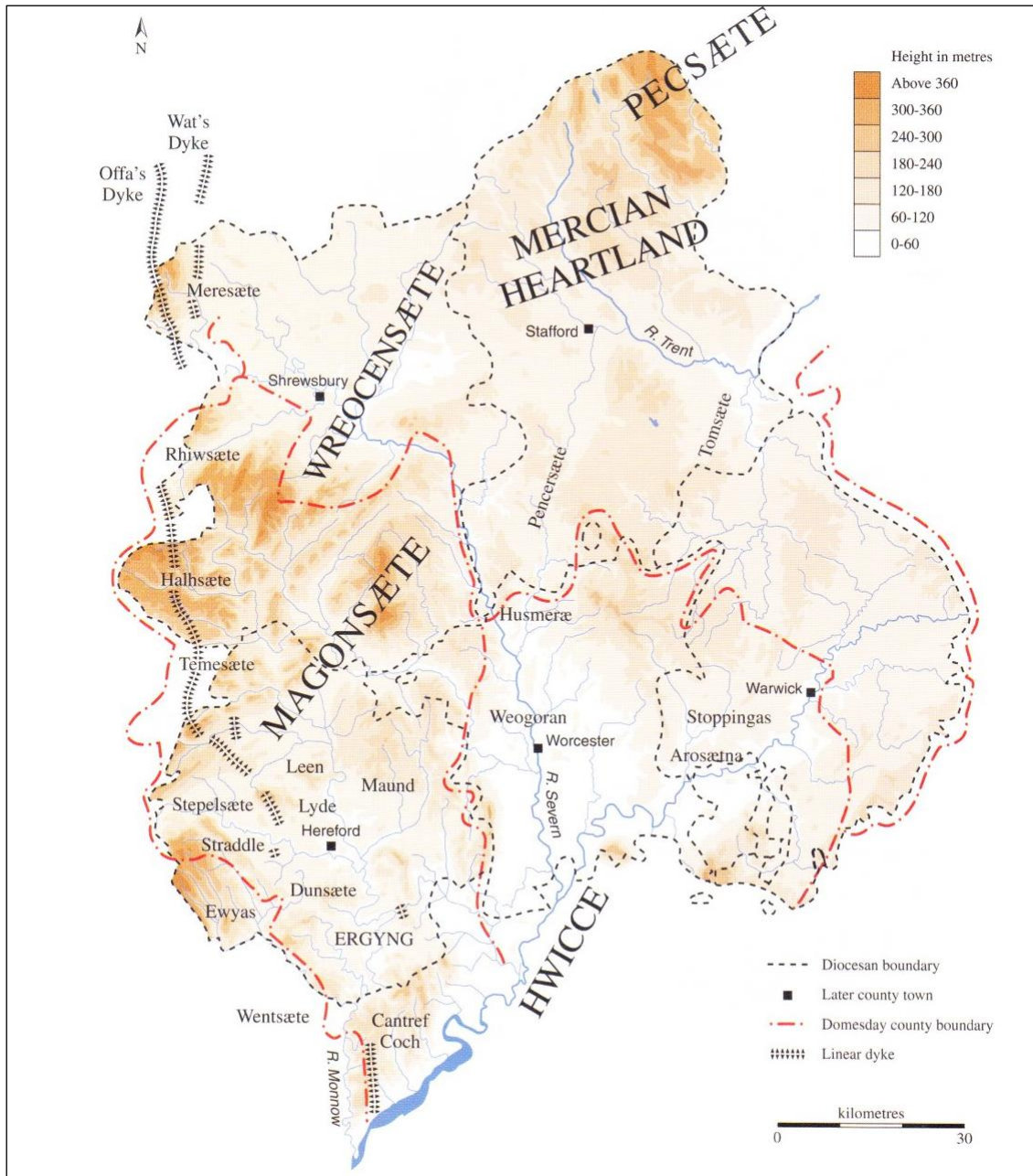


Figure 11. Early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the West Midlands (Watt, 2011).

Many of the existing towns and villages in the study area were probably formed during this period, perhaps as remnants from Roman “great estates” (Jones, 1961) or as isolated farmsteads worked by native British (later Welsh) or Anglo-Saxon incomers. Scant records exist for this area in the early medieval period, so it is difficult to know if these post-Roman proto-settlements developed individually or were part of an organised manorial “masterplan” under the direction of a lord. However, by the time of

the Domesday survey in 1086, all of the study towns appear as manors, with the exception of Presteigne, which was probably part of a much larger manor called *Humet*.

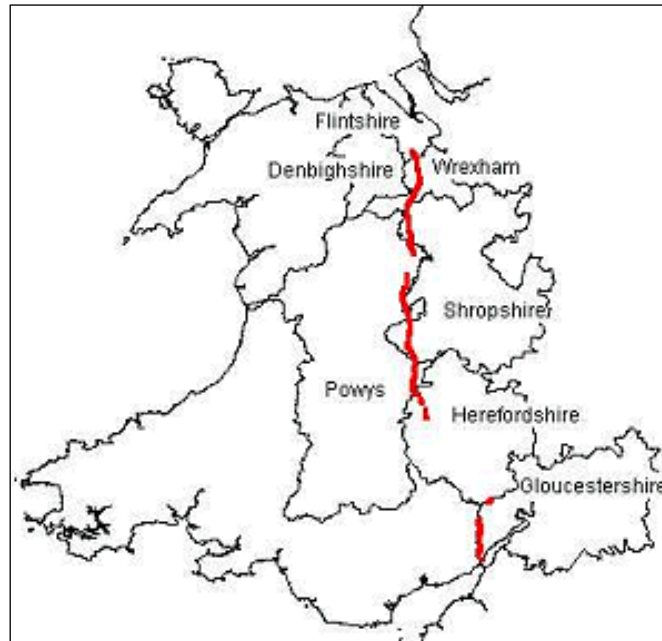


Figure 12. The line of Offa's Dyke (CPAT, 2016a).

The coming of the Normans saw the establishment of the Welsh Marches, a border zone that stretched from Chester in the north to Chepstow in the south. Marcher Lordships were set up in the counties of Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire and Gloucester, ruled semi-autonomously by Norman aristocrats and their followers to control the area. The impact on the landscape and the way of life for most people was dramatic. Early motte and bailey castles appeared at strategic points, many in the proto-towns, commanding views over important river and road routes. In the study area alone, most of the Domesday manors within a 5 miles radius of Clun, Knighton, Presteigne and Kington, have evidence of a motte and bailey castle. Many were short lived and did not develop beyond a simple earthen mound with a timber palisade and small bailey, possibly as a result of their establishment as a forward base for local lordships such those at Richard's Castle and Wigmore Castle, which were much further east.

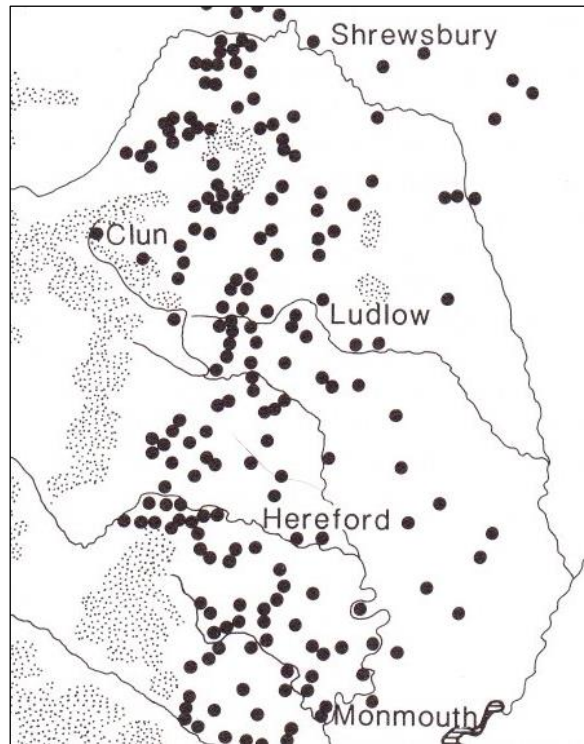


Figure 13. Distribution of castles in the Middle March of Wales from 8C onwards (Rowley, 1986).

The post-Conquest period saw the growth of many of the Domesday manors in the study area, despite some devastating raids by the Welsh over the next two hundred years. Some show elements of deliberate planning, such as Knighton, where the medieval town appears to have initially grown up around the castle (and was possibly originally contained within an extended bailey), and later expanded towards the lower ground near the church, although any systematic archaeological work has not yet confirmed this. Norton, a few miles south of Knighton, also shows elements of deliberate planning (CPAT, 2011a). This growth, and subsequent prosperity, reached its high point in the late 13C and early 14C, and saw a steady rise in the number of Welsh property owners in the border towns, previously displaced by planted Anglo-Norman incomers (Faraday, 1973).

Like most places across England and Wales, the Black Death in the mid 14C had a profound and long-lasting effect on the study area, with many towns taking another hundred years to start the slow process of recovery. By the middle part of the 15C however, things appear to have improved. This is illustrated by a recent survey of Presteigne by the RCAHMW, which shows the survival of substantial building fabric from

domestic dwellings dating from the late medieval and early Tudor period. This represents a recovery from the previous century and a new period of growth and expansion in the town (Suggett, 2005). A similar pattern is repeated for other historic towns in the study (CPAT, 2011a, 2011c; Dalwood and Bryant, 2005a, 2005b).

The first Act of Union between England and Wales in 1536 dissolved the Marcher Lordships and created the new counties of Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire. Towns along the border that had previously been loosely identified with the counties of Shropshire and Herefordshire, or fell within the areas governed by the previous Marcher Lordships, were now allocated to a specific county. The Welsh of the Marches now enjoyed the same privileges in law as the English.

3.3 Clun

The small village of Clun (population 700) is located in the sparsely populated area of Clun forest in south-west Shropshire. The village is laid out on both sides of the River Clun, whose valley forms a natural east-west route across the high ground of Clun Forest. The river approaches the village from the north-west, creating a natural boundary around its western and southern sides, before departing in an easterly direction. It has been responsible for naming many other settlements along its eastern course, such as Clunton, Clunbury and Aston on Clun, after which it turns abruptly south towards Clungunbury and on to Leintwardine in north Herefordshire.

Clun is bisected on a north-south axis by the A488 from Bishop's Castle in the north to Knighton in the south, and on an east-west axis by the B4368 from Craven Arms in the east to Newcastle in the west (and eventually on to Newtown further north-west). See figure 14. The landscape is still predominately pastoral with improved or rough grazing on the higher ground to the west with more arable land in the lower-lying areas around Bishop's Castle and Leintwardine to the east. Sheep and beef farming remain important in the area (Natural England, 2014).

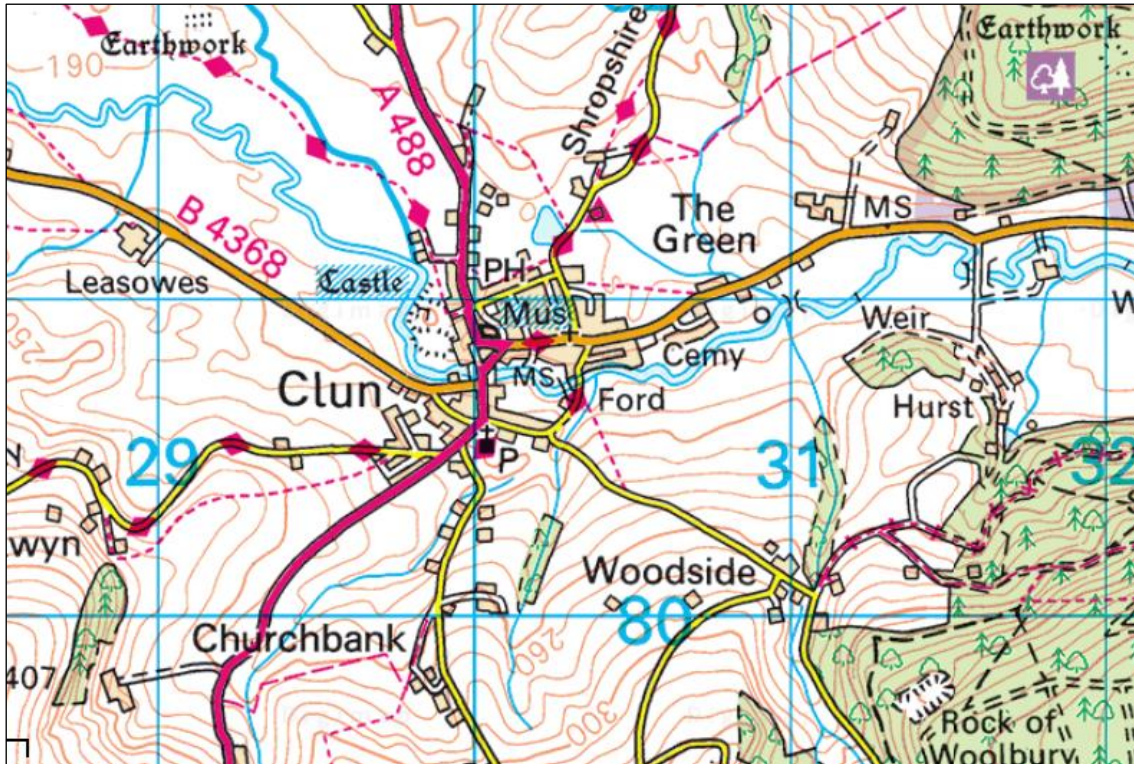


Figure 14. Clun – showing the urban area and main routes (Digimap, 2016).

There are two historic cores in Clun, each located on elevated ground to either side of the river. The smaller, and possibly earlier part of the village, is situated to the south of the river and is thought to have grown up around an earlier Anglo-Saxon church, which may have preceded the present Church of St Edward. The larger part of the village is situated to the north of the river and mostly to the east of the medieval castle. Both are linked by Church Street and the river bridge. The medieval footprint of the village can still be clearly seen in the layout of its streets, many showing the distinctive pattern of long burgage plots, which may be attributable to its relatively isolated position in Clun Forrest and lack of later industry.

Most of the buildings in the upper (southern) part of Church Street are double-fronted two and three storey residential properties of Georgian and Victorian appearance, although a handful may be 17C. Closer to the late medieval bridge, the properties in lower Church Street are of mixed use (retail and residential) and are gable-end on to the road.

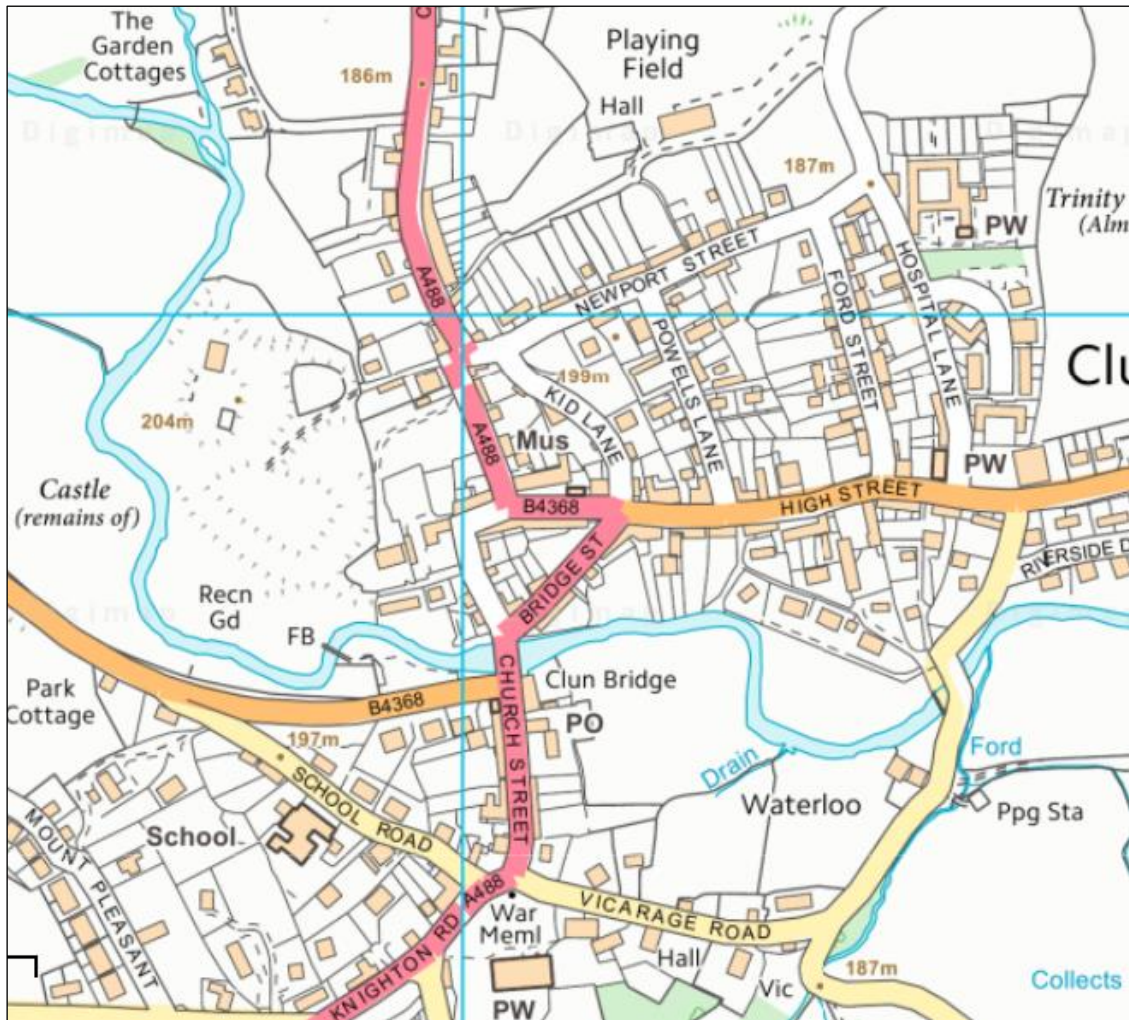


Figure 15. Clun – showing the main streets in the town (Digimap, 2016).

North of the river, the steeply sloping Bridge Street consists of two storey residential buildings on generous plots. This changes as it becomes High Street where the ground is more level and there is a mixture of residential, commercial and retail properties. The majority are two storey, exhibiting a mixture of styles and dates (medieval through to modern). The Square (now an eastern extension of High Street), is thought to be the site of the original market place (SHR HER 05449), and is a mixture of retail and residential premises. This area has the highest density of buildings and probably represents the earliest part of the village north of the river. It would have formed a natural junction between the two approaches to the castle along Church Street from the south and High Street from the east.

The church and the castle represent the oldest buildings in Clun. The historic core of the church dates to the 12C (SHR HER 13509), although it has been suggested that earlier fabric observed in the nave prior to a major restoration in 1877, may have been the remnants of a larger pre-Conquest church (Dalwood and Bryant, 2005a). The current tower is reminiscent of the one at Kington, which pre-dates its church and was built for defence. However, the tower at Clun was reportedly remodelled in the 17C and no early building material has been recorded.

There is some speculation that an area of Anglo-Saxon occupation was located close to the present Church of St Edward, which may have included a manor house. A Victorian historian, R W Eyton, writing about the antiquities of Shropshire in 1860, suggested that Clun was the site of a Saxon minster, although there is no direct evidence to support this (SHR HER 05488). The Domesday entry for Clun lists “a mill which serves the court” and since any court (held in a manorial building) would pre-date the late 11C/early 12C castle, it is thought this could have been close to the possible Anglo-Saxon church/minister (SHR HER 05487). The location of the mill is unknown.

Another possible Anglo-Saxon connection is the 1002 will of Wulfric Spot, a wealthy Anglo-Saxon nobleman and patron of Burton Abbey (Burton on Trent), which records that he left land “aet Clune” and has been taken to mean Clun in Shropshire. Finberg (1972) records the will but does not mention Clun. The Electronic Sawyer (2016) translation is “Clowne”, which is in Derbyshire. However, it must be noted that Wulfric also left land in Shropshire and Gloucestershire to Burton Abbey in the same will, so “Clune” may indeed be Clun.

A date of between 1090 and 1110 has been put forward for the original castle (SHR HER 01198), although it first appears in the Pipe Rolls in 1140-50. It was much altered over the next few hundred years and today comprises extensive earthworks consisting of a motte with a stone keep, curtain wall with towers, three baileys and a deep moat. It has been subject to several archaeological investigations over the past fifty years, and its

form and history have been well documented and recorded (Morris, 1990, 1993; Remfry 1994; Munby and Summerson, 2002). It is thought to be contemporaneous with the planned town to the north of the river, although it would most probably have been a timber motte and bailey at this time.

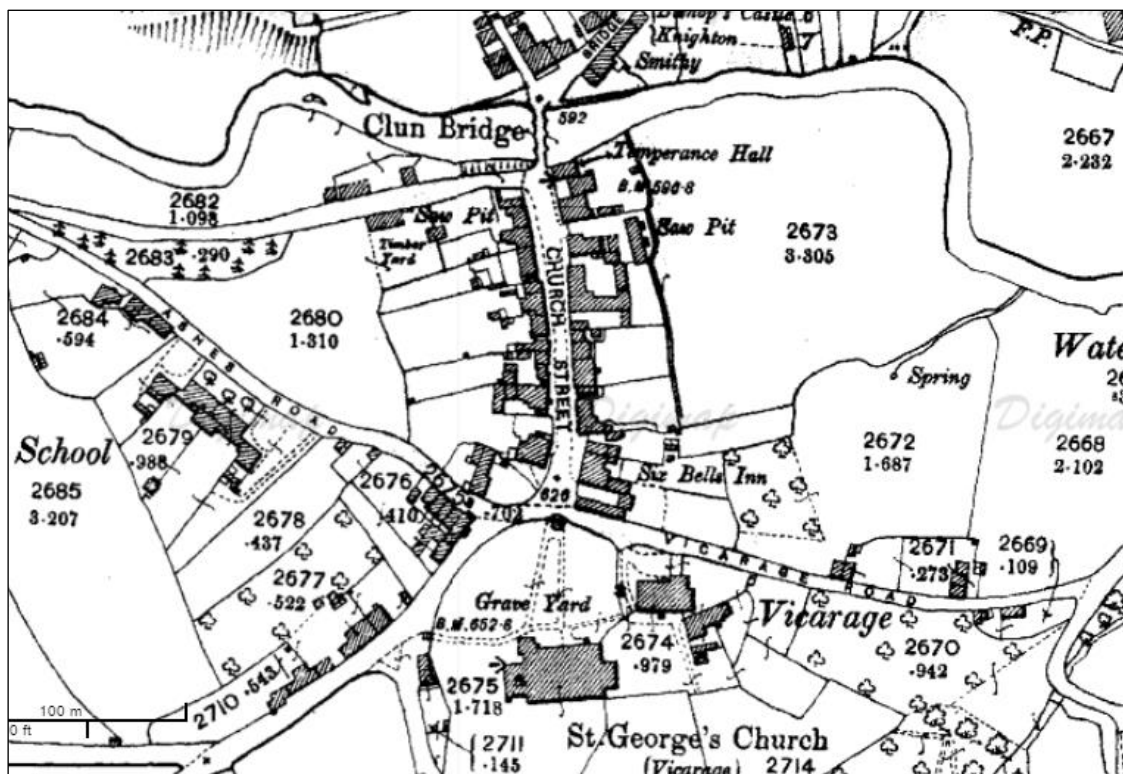


Figure 16. Early OS map of Clun showing the Church Street area south of the River Lugg (Digimap, 2016).

There are very few medieval houses surviving in Clun, although there is a high probability that historic building fabric dating from this time may still be present beneath later facades, given the undeveloped nature of the town. A substantial number of 16/17C buildings, mainly concentrated along Church Street and High Street, have been recorded, as have the many medieval tenement plots across the town.

One of the earliest buildings in Clun is a former 15C timber framed hall house, which was later divided into four separate properties. It is now Nos 1, 3, 5 and 7 Church Street (SHR HER 17909). Adjacent to this is a 17C Farmhouse partly remodelled in mid 19C (SHR HER 13523). On the opposite side of the street, Nos 2 and 4 (SHR HER 13526) are

believed to be timber framed and date from 17C. Figure 16 shows an early OS map of the area around Church Street, south of the river.



Figure 17. Early OS map of Clun showing the area to the east of the castle (Digimap, 2016).

The bridge over the River Clun has been dated to between 14C and 16C, but was probably the site of an earlier ford or crossing point. The steeply sloping Buffalo Lane is thought to have been the original route north from Church Street after crossing the river, joining what is now Castle Street, and may well have been in existence prior to the building of the castle. The 14/15C Castle Cottage (SHR HER 13513) and 17C Buffalo Hotel (and barn), which has been classified as a farmstead attached to an agricultural range (SHR HER 24555), are found in this area.

In addition, a handful of 16/17C former farmsteads survive along High Street. These have been identified as No. 1 (SHR HER 13542), No. 4. (SHR HER 24553), No. 11 (SHR HER 24552) and a building known as “Clun Farmhouse” (SHR HER 24551) at the western end of High Street. Nos 17 and 19 High Street (SHR HER 14506) were a former timber framed house of cruck construction, possibly dating to 12C, but most probably 13C or 14C and remodelled in early 19C.

Other early buildings in High Street include a possible 16C house at Nos. 7-9 (SHR HER 16212), a 17C house at No. 14 (SHR HER 14507), a 15C outbuilding (SHR HER 13537), now part of the Sun Inn, and a handful of other inns, namely the 17C Tile Tavern (SHR HER 13536) and 17C White Horse Hotel (SHR HER 13544). A 17C house also survives in Bridge Street (SHR HER 13519).

Other 17C buildings are dotted across the town in Vicarage Road, Newport Road, Enfield Street, Ford Street, a group at Little Hospital and the original Trinity Hospital Almshouses on the north-east edge of the town.

3.3.1 Early Medieval Evidence

There are three main pieces of evidence for an early medieval settlement at Clun. The first is its place-name, which is of British origin (see discussion below), the second is its Domesday Book entry, which speaks of “a mill which serves the court” and the third is the will of Wulfric Spot. The reference to Anglo-Saxon building fabric in the Church of St Edmund cannot be substantiated so has not been included here.

Place-names

Gelling (1990) writing in the Shropshire edition of EPNS (Volume 1) spoke of the paucity of pre-English names in the county and the striking contrast with Herefordshire, which has many early Welsh place-names, particularly in the south-west of the county (ie. the Old Welsh Kingdom of Ergyng). She went on to say, “The prevalence of English speech revealed by the place-names cannot, in this county, be ascribed to the presence in the early years of Mercian rule of a large number of English people.” (1990:xiii). She argued that the absence of pagan Anglo-Saxon archaeology in Shropshire showed that the area could not have been heavily populated by the “incomers” and that effective policing of Offa’s Dyke may have quickly eradicated any native British influence on major place-names.

However she did acknowledge that major names “of the late Welsh type” only occur on the western boundaries of the county and that numerous minor Welsh names were prevalent in the western parishes in field names. These examples probably indicating a return of Welsh speech in the post-Conquest period. The main group of surviving pre-English place-names in Shropshire are connected with rivers, hills and settlements. Clun is named after its river, along with the other settlements of Clunton, Clunbury and Clungunford.

Although Gelling states that Clun is derived from a British River name, *Colauna*, which is of “uncertain meaning” (in Shropshire EPNS, Volume 1), she cites Jackson (1953) as giving the proximate source of the name Clun (and Clowne, another Domesday Manor) as PrW C’lun, OE Clun. She also gives the earliest Welsh form as *Colunwy* (dref Golunwy) from the Brut y Tywysogyon (Chronicle of the Princes), dating from 1233 at the earliest.

It is worth noting here that a major AHRC-funded project is currently underway at the University of Wales’ *Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies*, in collaboration with the EPNS, to study Shropshire’s Welsh place-names. The study will be devoting a substantial volume to Clun and its historic hundreds, which may unravel the origin of its river name.

Domesday Book

Clun appears in the Domesday Book as *Clune*, a manor held by Robert de Say (known as Picot) from Roger of Montgomery (Earl of Shrewsbury) in Rinlau Hundred in Shropshire. It is listed singly and very large by Domesday standards at 15 hides (see figures 18 and 19). Parts of it are further held by Walter with 2 hides, another Picot (this time described as a “man-at-arms”) with 3 hides and Gislold with 2 hides. Unlike the towns of Knighton, Presteigne (*Humet*), and Kington, Clun is not waste, although the post-Conquest value is less than the pre-Conquest one.

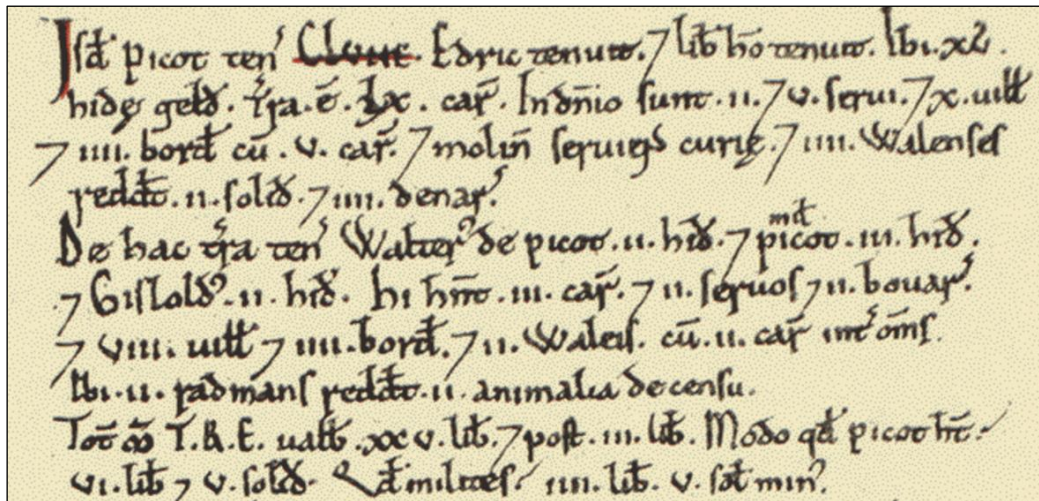


Figure 18. Shropshire Domesday folio showing the entry for Clune (Open Domesday, 2016).

8	CLUN. Edric held it; he held it as a free man. 15 hides which pay tax. Land for 60 ploughs. In lordship 2; 5 slaves; 10 villagers and 4 smallholders with 5 ploughs. A mill which serves the court; 4 Welshmen pay 2s 4d. Of this land Walter holds 2 hides from Picot; Picot, a man-at-arms, 3 hides; Gislold 2 hides. They have 3 ploughs and 2 slaves; 2 ploughmen; 8 villagers, 4 smallholders and 2 Welshmen with 2 ploughs between them. 2 riders pay 2 cattle in dues. Value of the whole manor before 1066 £25; later £3; now, of what Picot has, £6 5s; of what the men-at-arms (have), £4 less 5s.
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Figure 19. Translation of Clune Domesday entry (Thorn and Thorn, 1986).

“Welshmen” are mentioned twice in the Domesday entry for Clun, which is significant for the case study towns as they are not mentioned in connection with the others at this time. 4 Welshman are listed as paying 2s 4d (a money render – indicating they were probably Welsh tenant farmers), while another 2 are grouped with “8 villagers and 4 smallholders” who have 2 ploughs between them. In this latter case they may have been labourers.

The previous holder of the manor of Clun was Edric (also known as “Edric the Wild”) who held extensive land in Shropshire prior to the Conquest. According to Thorn and Thorn (1986) he acknowledged William as king in 1066, but then joined Kings Bleddyn and Rhiwallon of Gwynedd and Powys in attacking Herefordshire in 1067 and Shrewsbury in

1069. He appears to have submitted to King William in 1070, before accompanying him to Scotland in 1072 and is lost from the record at that point. This would suggest that he held his manors for some time after the Conquest and lost them prior to the Domesday survey in 1086.

3.3.2 Medieval Evidence

Clun is one of the most well documented of the case study towns during the medieval period, possibly because it was a large and thriving manor that remained (remarkably) in the hands of only two families, the de Sais until 1155 and the fitz Alans until the end of 16C (Dalwood and Bryant, 2005a), thus making the “paper trail” easier to follow. However, useable references to early streets are scarce. The castle provides some architectural dating evidence but not immediate post-Conquest.

Some Early Documents

As seen earlier, the castle first appears in the Pipe Rolls in 1140-50 and by 1204 the town had received a charter for a three day fair (Dalwood and Bryant, 2005a). One of the main sources of early documents relating to Clun are from Thomas Salt, who compiled a set in 1855 as part of a presentation to the Shrewsbury Institute of Archaeology. The documents range from 1272 to 17C and are comprised of inquisitions, land grants, deeds, charters and court rolls. Some of these will be referred to later. In addition, Shropshire Archives hold a range of early documents such as manorial, court, rent and estate records dating from the early 14C.

The Castle

Like all the case study town castles, a definitive date for first construction is not possible. It could be late 11C at the earliest or 1140-50 at the latest, and would have been carried out by a member of the de Say family, if not by Robert himself. In 1155 the castle passed to William fitz Alan of Oswestry on his marriage to Isabella de Say. An inquisition of 1272 records the following:

“At Clun there is a certain small Castle competently built, but the head of the Tower of [lost word/s] is necessary to be covered, and the Bridge of the Castle ought to be repaired; and without the said Castle there is a Bailey inclosed with a ditch, and there is a certain gate begun in the wall and a certain part of the wall is begun of the length of 200 feet, and in the same Bailey there are houses, to wit, a Grange, a stable and a Bakehouse in a decaying state” (Salt, 1858:4).

Things must have improved as the great tower is thought to have been built around 1292 when Richard fitz Alan succeeded to the title of Earl of Arundel. This resulted in him inheriting large estates in Sussex and by the mid 14C, the fitz Alans had moved to Arundel Castle. The castle at Clun was still maintained as administrative centre after the fitz Alan’s move but by early 15C, Owain Glyn Dwr’s rebellion and devastation of the area seems to have heralded its demise after this point.

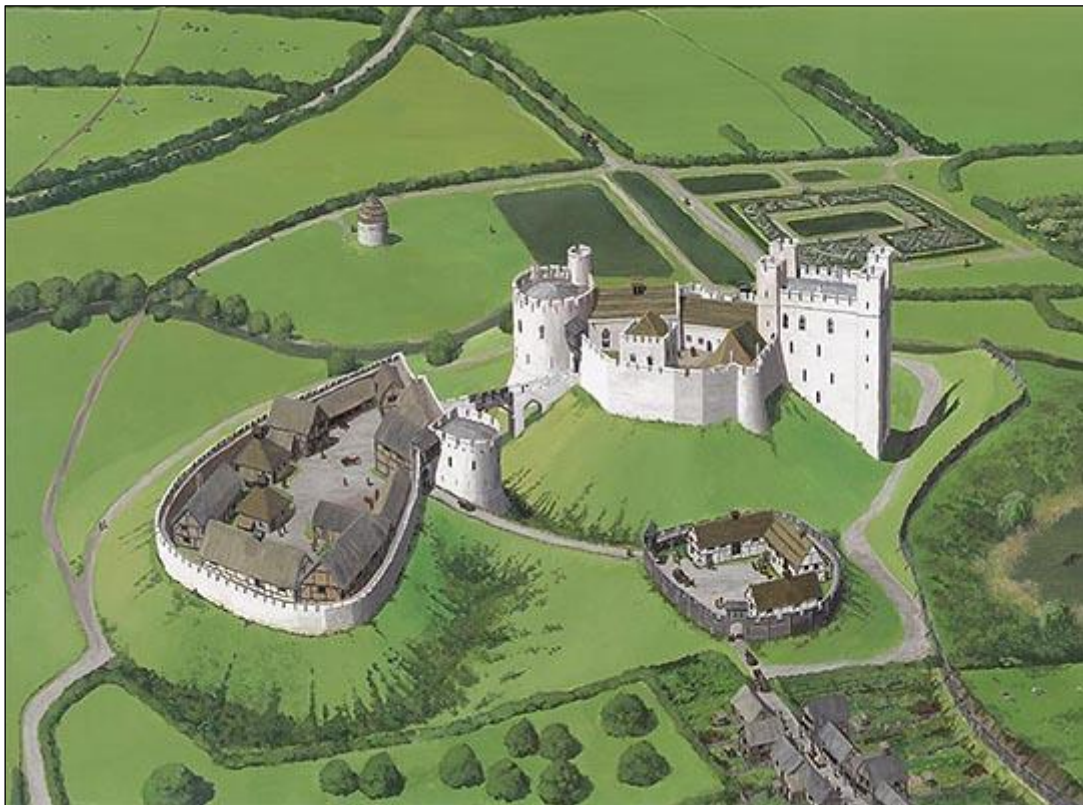


Figure 20. English Heritage reconstruction of Clun Castle c1300 (English Heritage, 2016b).

Early Street Pattern and Town Development

No archaeological evidence exists for the dating of the main routes through Clun (SHR HER 05448), although if the Anglo-Saxon settlement was based around the site of the present church, then one possible through route may have approached from the south (along what is now Knighton Road), down Church Street, across the river, up Buffalo lane and along Castle Street, heading in a northerly direction towards Bishop's Castle (the route of the modern A488). The second possible route is east-west and follows the River Clun (along the route of the modern B4368). No Domesday manors are recorded along this route to the west, indicating it may have been the extent of the Anglo-Saxon westward migration. However, the route is most probably of prehistoric origin, as a range of monuments and artefacts dating from the Mesolithic to the Iron Age have been found along its length.

As discussed earlier, the streets within the historic core north and south of the river, are laid out in a regular grid pattern, many still retaining the earlier footprint of medieval burgage plots. The town is recorded as having 183 burgages in 1272 (Dalwood and Bryant, 2005a) which is a substantial amount and it is not difficult to see from the early OS map where they could have been accommodated.

Clun may have had town defences (SHR HER 05448) as a murage grant was received in 1277 (Turner, 1971), although this represents the only documentary evidence. There have been several proposed circuits. Bond (1987) tentatively suggested some 12C and 13C defences (see figure 21), which was later echoed by Creighton and Higham (2005). Turner (1971) referred to traces of a ditch to the north of Newport Street and on the south of Bridge Street, with an eastern line of defence along Frog Street (Ford Street) and the castle to the west. Dalwood and Bryant (2005a) noted a document of 1589 which referenced the town ditch as forming the eastern boundary to the burgages in Frog Street. They went on to say that observations of possible traces of defences at the back of Newport Street, Frog Street and Bridge Street, would appear to confirm that the defences were actually built.

The most likely position for initial town defences would be in the area of Kid Lane and Bridge Street, in effect forming an outer bailey of the castle to protect the bridge head and market place. This is shown by the red line in figure 21. These were enlarged again at a later date as shown by the purple line. The defences being no more than a ditch and bank as observed earlier.

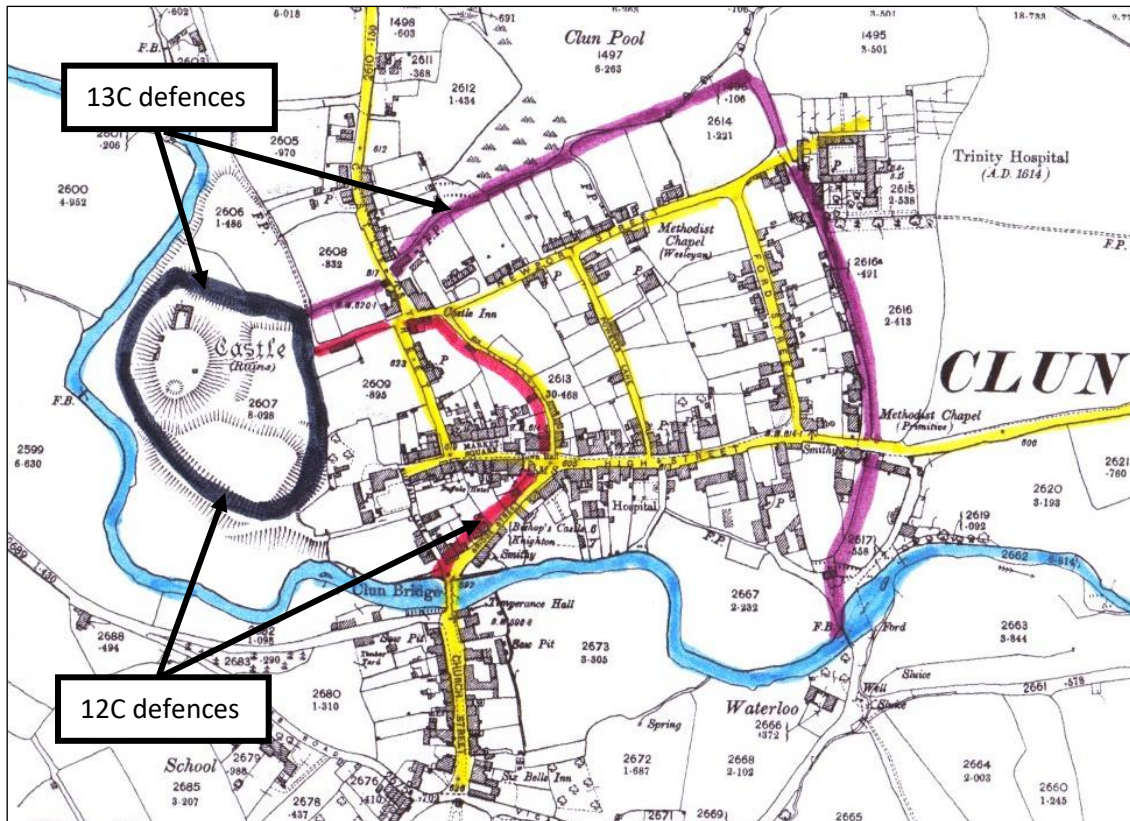


Figure 21. Clun Castle proposed defences (after Bond, 1987).

3.4 Knighton

The small market town of Knighton (CPAT HER 16151), population 3,000, sits astride Offa's Dyke at the north-eastern edge of the old county of Radnorshire as it meets the south-western border of Shropshire. The River Teme approaches from the north-west, its valley forming the English/Welsh border to the north of the town at this point. Its tributary, the Wylcwm Brook, approaches from the south-west, joining with the Teme close to the railway station on the east side of town. Although Kington is now on the

very eastern edge of the “new county” of Powys, some modern developments to the north-east of the town, including the still operational railway station, are in Shropshire.



Figure 22. Knighton – showing the urban area and main routes (Digimap, 2016).

The town is situated on the edge of the Welsh uplands where it meets the more fertile rolling countryside of south Shropshire and north-west Herefordshire. It is linked by the A4113 to Ludlow in the east and by the A488 to Clun in the north and Llandrindod Wells in the west. See figure 22. Like Kington, it was an important livestock market town, being situated on several historic droving routes. It is still largely agricultural in character and retains its traditional livestock market.

The historic core of Knighton is located at the highest point in the town where the Norman motte and bailey castle (CPAT HER 1133) is situated. See figure 23. It appears to have been concentrated on the castle’s north and east sides and incorporated Market Street, High Street, and Broad Street (and possibly the southern section of Norton Street which leads into Market Street). Plough Road and Castle Road may be later. Most are narrow and slope steeply downhill, although the upper parts of Market Street and Russell Street are quite wide, representing the area where the original market place

once stood. Today it is a car parking area. A series of market halls stood a little further east on a site between Market Street, upper Norton Street and Russell Street until the last one was demolished in 1987 (Parker, 2012).

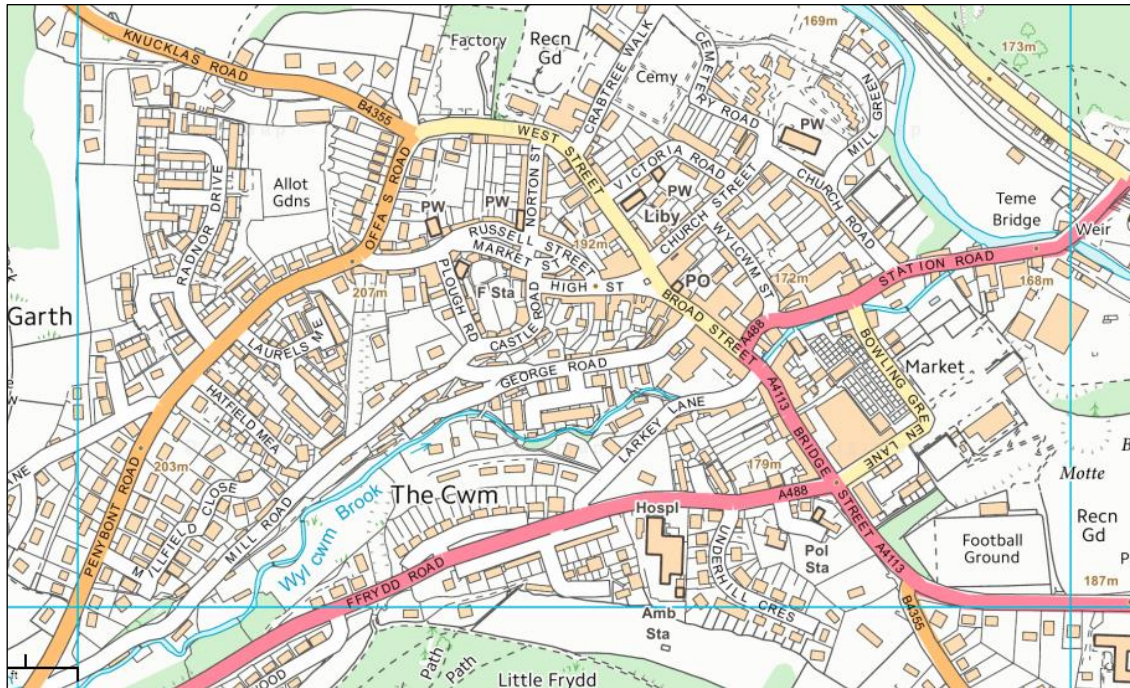


Figure 23. Knighton – showing the main streets in the town (Digimap, 2016).

The later infill buildings are characteristic of many medieval towns when space was at a premium, and can still be seen on the historic OS map (figure 24) just to the north of the castle. Only a few of these buildings still exist at the east end of the old market place and do not appear to be original. The properties surrounding the castle and backing onto the bailey are a mixture of styles and ages, and were probably opportunistic encroachment after the castle had ceased to be used. Many have been dated to the 17/18C, although a few are 19C. Most comprise two storey double-fronted domestic dwellings with a few three storey commercial properties at the lower end of Market Street where it meets Castle Road.

Like Market Street, the properties along Russell Street are mainly two storey double-fronted residential and a mixture of dates and styles. Nos 1 and 2 lie along the narrow east end of Russell Street as it approaches the equally narrow upper part of High Street

(known as The Narrows, see figure 25) and are recorded as being 17C with later frontages.

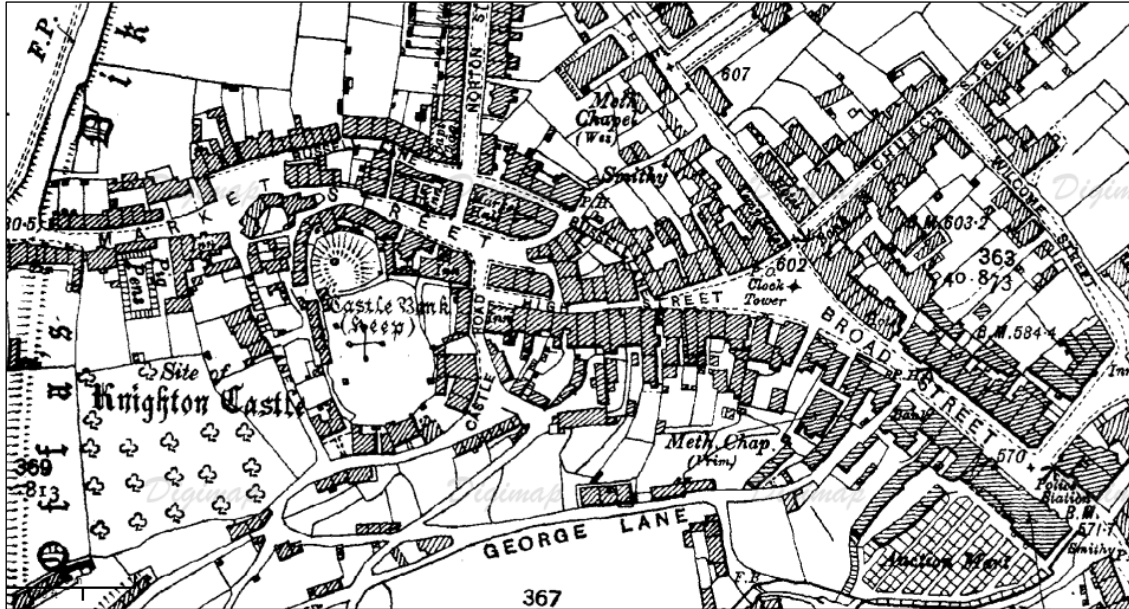


Figure 24. The historic core of Knighton (Digimap, 2016).

The buildings along the Narrows are mostly three storey retail properties with shops on the ground floor with living accommodation and storage above. They present gable-end and parallel facades to the street and are mostly Georgian and Victorian in appearance. Likewise, the buildings along High Street and Broad Street, although few are gable-end on to the street. The town's weekly market is now held in the triangular area between upper Broad Street and High Street (where the clock tower now stands).

The plot sizes in these areas appear to be quite generous to accommodate the many double-fronted properties facing the street. This is also noticeable on early OS maps of the town which show typical burgage arrangements lining the Narrows, High Street and Broad Street (see figure 24). It is possible that the existing buildings have expanded to taken in two or possibly three medieval plots (which were usually much narrower in width) or there was little demand on space when they were first laid out and they have not been altered since.

Only two medieval buildings are recorded in Knighton, although there could be more as yet undiscovered. Of the two that survive, The Old House (CPAT HER 30055), stands parallel to the street at the junction of the Narrows (upper High Street) with Broad Street. It is a 15C two-bay house with arch-braced collar-beam cruck truss hidden behind a later 17C façade. The other is the Horse and Jockey (CPAT HER 30095) at the junction of Station Road and Wylcwm Street, which contains five substantial trusses over a stone walled building. It underwent some 17C remodelling and its siting may represent an earlier street plan in this area (Woodfield, 1973).

A substantial number of 17C buildings survive in Knighton. These are scattered throughout the town but mainly concentrated in High Street and Broad Street. A few exist in Church Street, Bridge Street, Station Road and Bowling Green Lane, although those outside of the medieval streets may be late 17C/early 18C.



Figure 25. Looking along The Narrows which leads to the castle at the top of the hill (TA, 2016).

The oldest structure in Knighton is Offa's Dyke which runs on a north-south alignment through the western part of the town (CPAT HERs 27612, 27613, 26714, 53196, 53197).

The next oldest structure is Knighton castle motte which stands 4m high and has a bailey to the south (see figure 26). In addition to the castle, the town is believed to have had

other defences (CPAT HER 4182) as two murage grants were awarded in 1260 and 1277 (Turner, 1971), although nothing remains to be seen today.



Figure 26. The motte and bailey of Knighton Castle (CPAT, 2011a).

There is no firm dating evidence for the castle. It is first mentioned in a Pipe Roll of 1181 (CPAT, 2011a), although William de Braose appears in a later Pipe Roll of 1191-2 as a castle-builder at Knighton, which is probably a reference to initial work on it (Soulsby, 1983). Another earthwork motte, Bryn y Castell (CPAT HER 1135), is located 500m to the east. Unfortunately, there is no documentary or archaeological evidence relating to this motte, so it is impossible to know if the two castles were contemporary or one came before the other or even who constructed it (the Welsh or the Normans).

The Church of St Edward the Confessor is located some distance to the north-east of the castle. According to Soulsby (1983) it was first recorded in 1284 in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (1281-91, 135), although no building fabric from this time still exists. Apart from the 14C medieval tower, it is largely a Victorian rebuild of an earlier Georgian church, of which no trace remains (LB No. 8980). It has been described as no more than a chapelry

which was attached to St Michael's, Stowe (2 miles to the east in Shropshire) until the late 16C (CPAT, 2011a), although Thorn and Thorn (1986) in their *Domesday Book Notes for Shropshire*, describe both Knighton and Norton as being “ancient parishes”. The churchyard offers no clues as to an early church foundation either. It is regular in plan with no sign of any circularity, which often hints at an early British church foundation (Silvester, 1998). It has been suggested that the area around the church in the lower part of the town may have been part of a Norman plantation (discussed later).

3.4.1 Early Medieval Evidence

There was speculation about the presence of a Roman fort at Knighton (CPAT HER 5241), which is tentatively shown on a map of Roman roads in the CPAT Report No. 527, *Roman Roads in Mid and North-East Wales*. However, this has since been discounted by CPAT and it has not been included here as evidence for an early medieval settlement. The main evidence comes from two sources. The first is the town’s name, *Chenistetune*, which appears as a manor in the Domesday Book, and thus infers a pre-Conquest settlement. The second is from charter evidence relating to the previous holder of the manor.

Place-names

Knighton is listed in the Domesday Book as *Chenistetune* which means “estate of the young retainers” (Gelling, 1978) or “farm or settlement of the servants or followers” from OE *cniht/cnihta* (soldier, personal follower, young man, servant,thane, freeman) and *tun* (settlement, farmstead, farm). Knighton’s current Welsh name, *Tref y Clawdd*, is a recent restoration and means “town by the dyke”. The earliest version was *Trebucllo* (1536-9) which is a reduction of *Tref y Clawdd* (Owen and Morgan, 2008).

Gelling (1978) suggests that Knighton is a late habitative name which refers to a social or administrative arrangement, unlike the earlier habitative names, which typically describe topographical features in the landscape and were established in the early Anglo-Saxon migration period. She specifically cites Knighton as belonging to a group of

names belonging to a relatively late stage of manorial arrangements. It is interesting to note then, that Knighton is not grouped with a set of manors (only Norton) in the Domesday Book, such as Presteigne and Kington, which might be expected if it was an “administrative” manor, overseeing the others.

Knighton has the distinction of being the only town in the Marches to sit on Offa’s Dyke itself and the Welsh version of its name, *Tref y Clawdd* (town by the dyke) aptly describes its position. Given its proximity to the Dyke, it seems strange that this feature was not incorporated into the town’s name, especially as it would still have been an impressive sight in the landscape. However, if the manor dates from the late Anglo-Saxon period, then according to Gelling, a topographical feature would not have been used to describe it, as these typically occur in the early migration period. Interestingly, the Domesday manor of *Discote* (cottage by the dyke), now Discoed, 5 miles south of Knighton, does derive its name from the dyke with OE *dic* (dyke) and *cot/e* (cottage or hut), and is possibly an example of an early habitative name. This would imply that the settlement at Discoed (half a mile to the east of the Dyke) is much earlier than Knighton.

Domesday Book

Knighton and its near neighbour, Norton (3 miles to the south), are grouped together in Leintwardine Hundred in Shropshire and are shown as being held by Hugh Donkey (from the King). Leoffled, an Anglo-Saxon woman, held them before that. Neither Hugh nor Leoffled, have or had, any other manors listed in the Shropshire Domesday folios. Knighton was assessed as 5 hides with land for 12 ploughs and a large wood, although it was waste before and after the conquest (see figures 27 and 28). This represents quite a substantial manor. Norton was described in exactly the same way (Thorn and Thorn, 1986).

Leoffled (OE *Leofflæd*) held 12 manors in Herefordshire, 7 of which later passed to Hugh Donkey (also known as Hugh the Ass, but more correctly, Hugh l’asne, as seen in figure 27), 4 to Nigel the Doctor and 1 to Ralph of Tosny. She was the wife of Thorkil White,

both of whom are mentioned in two late Anglo-Saxon charters. The first involves a lawsuit between a mother and son (Edwin, son of Enniaun) concerning land in Wellington Herefordshire. The mother in the end makes an oral declaration leaving all her possessions to her kinswoman, Leoffled, and is dated to between 1016 and 1035. The second is later (between 1043 and 1046) and is a memorandum regarding the purchase of some land at Mansell Herefordshire by Leofwine, brother of Leoffled (Finberg, 1972). Thorkil also held many manors in Herefordshire, including Wellington, Bernaldeston (thought to be close to Presteigne) and Lyonshall (2.5 miles to the east of Kington).

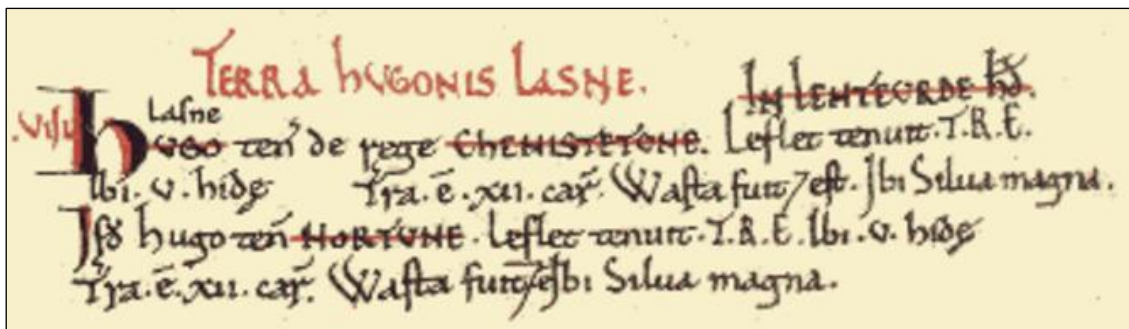


Figure 27. Shropshire Domesday folio entry for *Chenistetune* (Open Domesday, 2016).

8	LAND OF HUGH DONKEY
	In LEINTWARDINE Hundred
1	Hugh Donkey holds KNIGHTON from the King. Leofled held it before 1066. 5 hides.... Land for 12 ploughs. It was and is waste. A large wood.
2	Hugh also holds NORTON. Leofled held it before 1066. 5 hides.... Land for 12 ploughs. It was and is waste. A large wood.

Figure 28. Translation of *Chenistetune* Domesday entry (Thorn and Thorn, 1986).

Although, Knighton and Norton are grouped together in the Domesday Book, there does not seem to be a clear relationship between them. Norton, traditionally means “north farm or farmstead” (from OE *nord* and *tun*) and is obviously not the “north farm” of Knighton. It most probably belonged to the Domesday manor of Presteigne (*Humet*) at

some point (see Section 3.5 for discussion of relationship between Presteigne and Norton).

3.4.2 Medieval Evidence

Early post-Conquest surviving documentation is poor. Not a lot is known for example, about Hugh Donkey, which may have helped to understand how his manors developed. In addition to Knighton and Norton, he also held 20 manors in Herefordshire, and had a few more scattered across Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. Documentation becomes more plentiful from the late 12C onwards, although architectural dating evidence from this time is also lacking.

Some Early Documents

As seen earlier, the castle was first mentioned in 1181 in a Pipe Roll and then again a little later in 1191-2, plus the murage grants in 1260 and 1277. The town was granted a market charter in 1230 (Cole, 1955) and some chancery and exchequer documents (SC 1/4/16) from the early reign of Henry III (1216 to 1240) in the National Archives, record a dispute between Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales and Hugh de Mortimer over Knighton and Norton. This is interesting as it suggests that Llewelyn thought of the towns as being in Welsh territory, whereas they had been firmly Anglo-Saxon and then Norman since mid 11C.

In 1293 a tax of one-fifteenth of moveable wealth was levied on its 71 inhabitants. This contrasts with Norton (half way between Knighton and Presteigne) which had 47 and Presteigne with 17 tax payers. An analysis of the names of those who paid the tax show approximately 66% were Welsh in Knighton, 53% in Norton and 9% in Presteigne (Faraday, 1973).

In 1304, a *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* for Edmund Mortimer (a major land holder and Marcher Lord) listed 126 burgesses holding $162\frac{1}{3}$ burgages in the town (Woodfield, 1973). These are Minister's accounts and financial statements sent to the

Crown from persons appointed to manage estates which had come into the King's hands. Several exist for Knighton, some of which have been published in the *Radnorshire Society Transactions*, although none appear to contain property information that would help reconstruct any early street patterns. Two further documents of 1361 and 1383 confirm that the town was a borough by then, although no charter survives (Beresford, 1988).

The Castle and Church

A firm date for the construction of Knighton's motte and bailey castle is difficult. At the earliest it could be anywhere from late 11C (ie. immediate post-Conquest) to late 12C (Pipe Roll date). Realistically it is probably somewhere in between the two. There have been no archaeological investigations that would help with secure dating either.

Both Turner (1971) and Creighton and Higham (2005) suggested that the town's western defences might have utilised Offa's Dyke. If so, these may have run clockwise along West Street, down Broad Street and then either along George Street or the Wylcwn Brook to meet up with Offa's Dyke. However, this is a large area and given that there is no evidence to support it, a smaller circuit may be more feasible, the line of which has since been obliterated by later street layouts and housing.

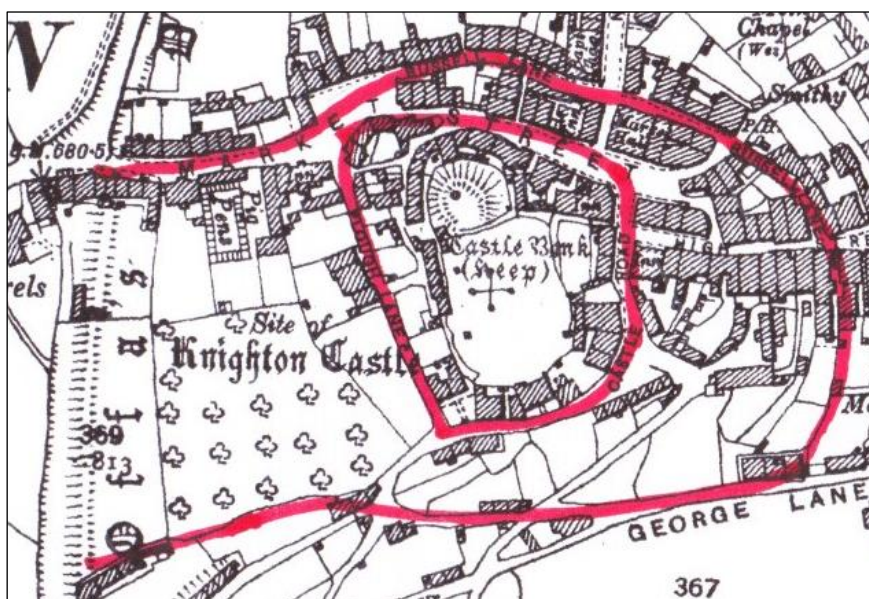


Figure 29. Two possible circuits for Knighton Castle and town defences (Digimap, 2016).

Two shorter circuits suggest themselves as possible contenders (see figure 29). The first is clockwise along Russell Street (following the curving line of the existing housing) down to George Lane or the Wylcwn Brook, and then north along Plough Road or Offa's Dyke. This route would have included the market area. The second, is an even shorter circuit and could have run along Market Street, Castle Road and Plough Road. Given that there is no evidence that the castle was later built in stone, this may indicate that any other defences were not particularly substantial either, and have therefore left no traces.

The majority of the historic building fabric of St Edward's Church is not of any great antiquity and no early records exist of its construction. It is feasible there may be below ground archaeological evidence of an earlier church on the same site, given that Knighton itself could be of late Anglo-Saxon origin, although no excavations have been carried to confirm or deny this. It may even have been a daughter church to the nearby St Michael's and All Angels Church in Stowe Shropshire, which dates from the mid 13C. However, recent digging of drainage trenches and soakaways at St Michael's, suggested the development history of the site may be more complex than previously thought (SHR HER 13703), possibly hinting at earlier origins.

The settlement of Stowe does not appear as a manor in the Domesday survey of 1086, although the churchyard of St Michael's is circular which hints at a British, rather than an Anglo-Saxon origin. The name *stow* was often associated with a hermitage and by 10C was a normal term for a religious establishment (Blair, 2005). It might therefore be conceivable that an earlier pre-Conquest church stood on the present site of St Michael's. This may also have served the wider area, which could have included Knighton as the two settlements are very close. It might also explain why there is no evidence for an early church in the town.

Like Presteigne, the castle and church are on opposite sides of the town, which may indicate they are not contemporary. If documentary evidence alone is accepted, then the latest the castle could have been erected is 1181 and the church 1284, a difference

of just over 100 years. If they were both part of a planned settlement, then presumably easy access would have been arranged between the two and they would have been closer. Church Street itself is very straight and regular, as are some of the other “lower town” streets, which may indicate this area is a part of a later planned town.

Early Street Pattern and Town Development

As discussed earlier, the medieval historic core of Knighton is centred around the castle. The site was most probably chosen for its commanding views over the surrounding countryside, sitting as it does at the crossing point of an important east-west route between England and Wales. The Teme to the north, the Wylcwn Brook to the south and Offa’s Dyke to the west all provide natural defences. It has even been suggested that an early medieval settlement here was the result of a breach in the Dyke (natural or planned), which represented the only crossing point in the area, and which in turn could suggest a settlement date as early as the building of the Dyke itself ie. mid to late 8C (Woodfield, 1973).

Early OS maps show a clear pattern of medieval burgage plots in Market Street, High Street and Broad Street (and to a lesser extent Market Street), representing the first phase of Norman development. Opinions differ about Knighton’s plantation and form. Beresford conceded that Knighton only had a slight claim to be considered a planted town and believed that Bryn y Castell was the original Norman motte that had been superseded by the castle in the town. However, he did think that “the church, castle and town seem to be all of a piece, but not – due to uneven ground – a completely formal and rectangular piece” (Beresford, 1988: 571).

Soulsby (1983) regarded Knighton as a vill (manor) enlarged by plantation, as evidenced by the fact that the *Fifteenth* assessment showed 66% of the taxpayers were Welsh. Presumably, the numbers of Welsh would not have been so high if the town was planted and populated by Norman incomers (like Presteigne). Woodfield (1973) suggests two possibilities for the development of the town. The first is in accordance with Beresford, that it is of one foundation date and the rectangularity of the street grid pattern could

only assert itself on the more level ground (close to the church). The second is that the town is a late 12C/early 13C plantation grafted onto an already existing village. See figure 31 for Woodfield's suggested Norman planation of Knighton, which also shows the location of the oldest buildings in the town.

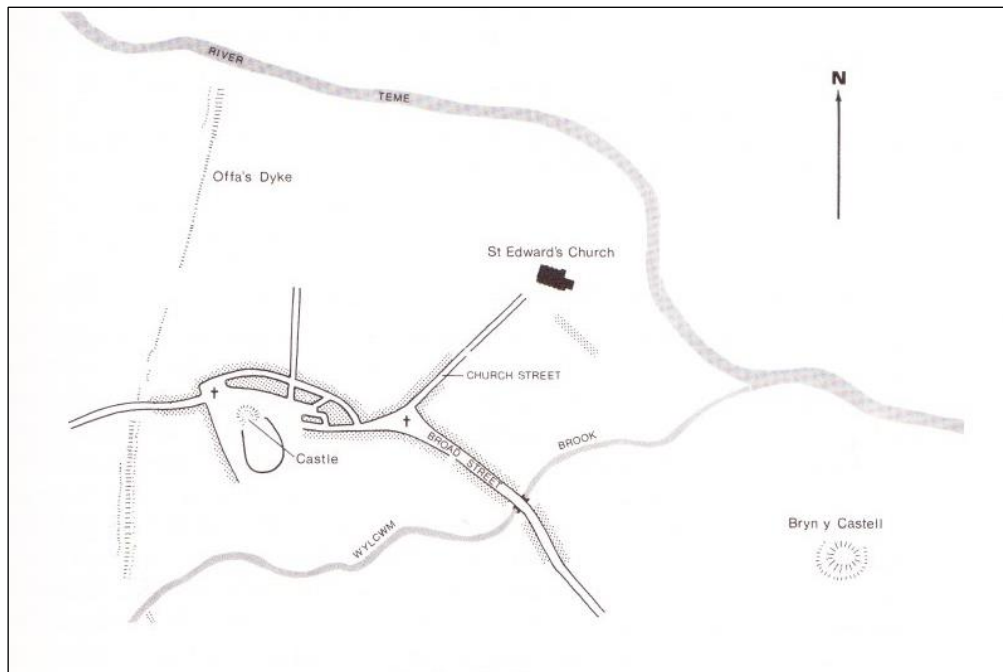


Figure 30. Soulsby's medieval Knighton (1983).

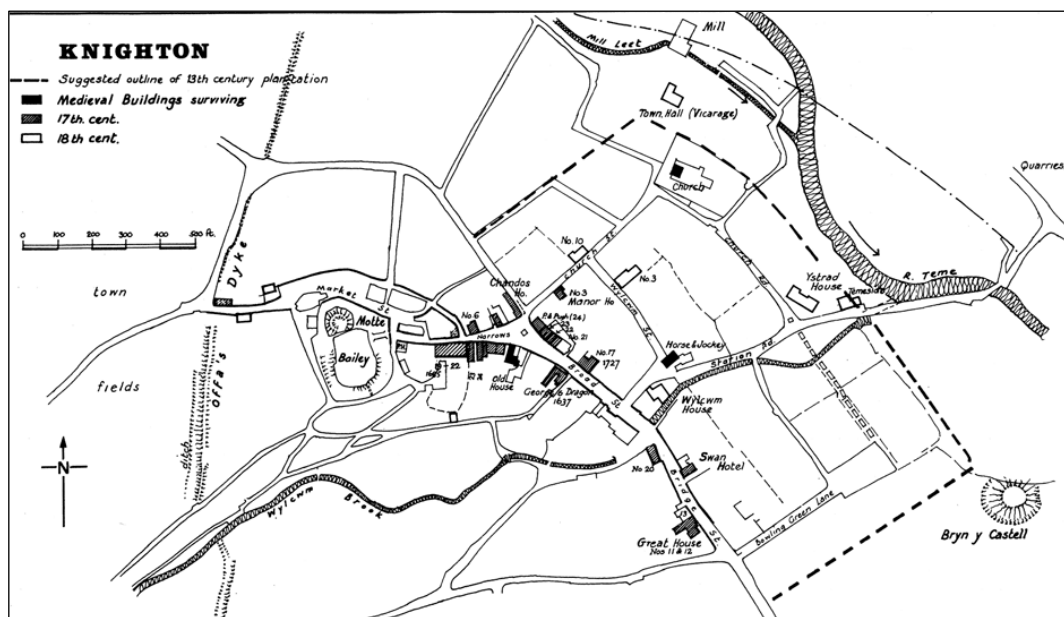


Figure 31. Woodfield's suggested Norman plantation of Knighton, which also shows the location of the oldest buildings in the town (1973).

3.5 Presteigne

The small town of Presteigne (CPAT HER 16190), population 2,700, is situated in the Upper Lugg Valley on the very eastern edge of the old county of Radnorshire (now part of Powys) where it meets the English/Welsh border with north-west Herefordshire, the surrounding area still being largely rural in nature. It sits at the intersection of a series of B roads, some of which may have prehistoric or Roman origins (see discussion in Chapter 4). The River Lugg approaches from the north-west, effectively forming the northern boundary of the town, before departing into Herefordshire in an easterly direction. The town is situated on relatively low lying land which slopes gently towards the west (see figure 32).

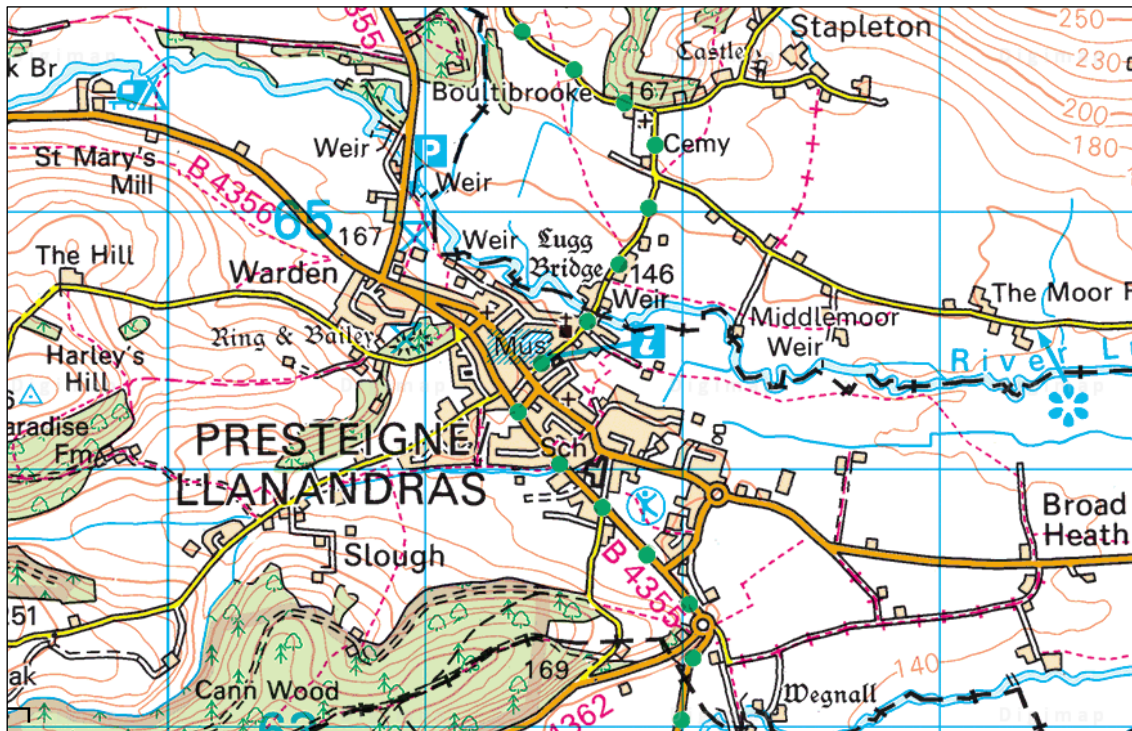


Figure 32. Presteigne - showing the urban area and main routes (Digimap, 2016).

Presteigne no longer has a railway station, having lost its passenger service in 1951, followed by its freight service in 1964. The eastern section of the old railway line now forms part of the modern bypass which was completed in 1984 (Parker, 1997). This runs parallel to the west of the medieval High Street and serves the modern business and industrial parks. The historic core is centred around High Street, once the major north-

west/south-east route through town, and Broad Street, which runs through the town in a north-east/south-west direction (see figure 33). Most of the modern housing developments are located in the wider suburbs, although a substantial foundry (now demolished) existed to the south of Broad Street.

The oldest dateable non-domestic structures in Presteigne are the medieval Church of St Andrew (CPAT HER 322 and 16939), which possibly contains some earlier Saxon building fabric (see later discussion), and the remains of a 12C motte and bailey castle (CPAT HER 318). Both are on opposite sides of the town. The castle is located to the west and the church to the east, adjacent to the medieval Lugg Bridge.

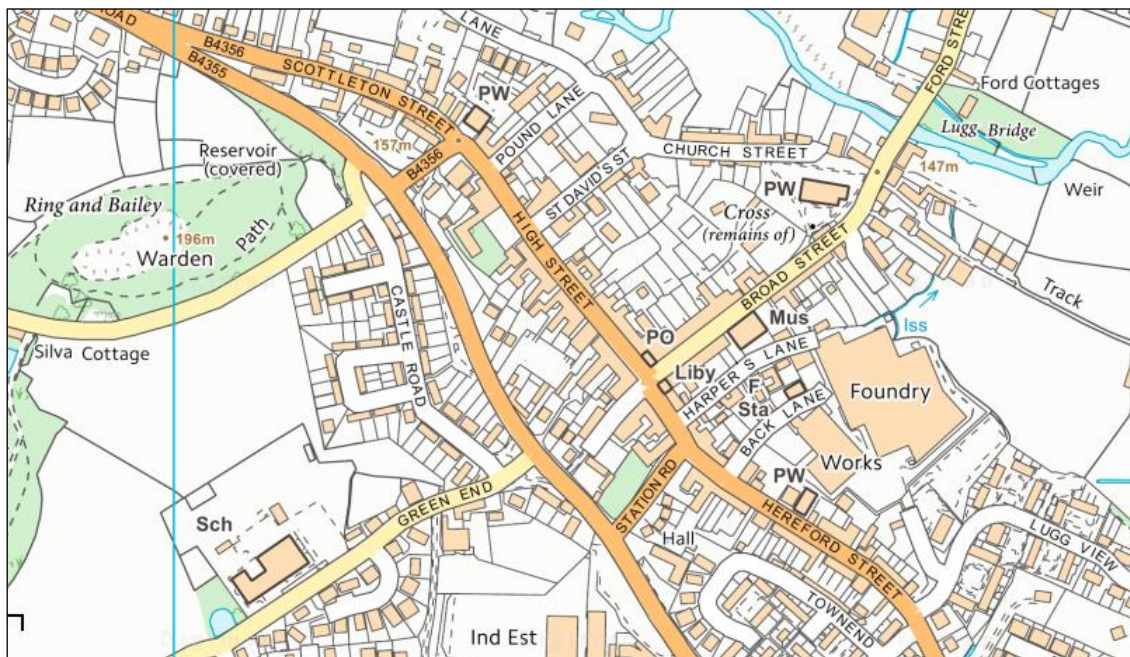


Figure 33. Presteigne - showing the main streets in the town (Digimap, 2016).

The majority of the buildings in the historic core of the town are Georgian or Victorian in appearance, although a few still retain their external timber framing, such as the 17C Radnorshire Arms Hotel (CPAT HER 321) at the upper end of High Street. Many of the original timber frames are now hidden under later facades. A recent survey by the RCAHMS revealed Presteigne has the greatest number of known pre-1550 domestic buildings in Wales. The oldest properties from this survey were dated to 1436 and 1463

(CPAT HERs 30324 and 30267) and are located close to the Lugg Bridge and the intersection of High Street and Broad Street, respectively (see later discussion). There are also a substantial number of 17C buildings that have been recorded across the town.



Figure 34. The intersection of High Street and Broad Street, with Hereford Street to the left and Green End to the right (© Copyright Alan Murray-Rust, 2016). The building in the centre of the picture is Radnor House which has a 1890s Arts and Crafts influenced façade, possibly overlaying an earlier structure. The white building to its left dates from 1463 and is an example of a hall and cross-wing house. The red brick building on the left of the picture is the Victorian Italianate Market Hall and Assembly Rooms. The jettied building on the right of the picture is of 16C origin.

Most of the properties along the medieval High Street are two and three story in height with retail premises on the ground floor and living accommodation or storage above. The size of the plots varies. Some properties present gable-end to the street and thus have a narrow street frontage. These tend to be clustered around the intersection with Broad Street and High Street as it becomes Hereford Road. Some of the properties in this area have been dated to the late 15C, 16C and 17C. The wider plots are more

pronounced on the upper (north) part of High Street at the intersections with St Davids Street and Pound Lane, where the Radnorshire Arms Hotel is located.

The buildings along Broad Street are of a much more mixed appearance and use. The Victorian Italianate Gothic Market Hall and Assembly Rooms dominate the upper part of Broad Street, giving way to smaller two and three storey retail premises and the 17C Dukes Arms public house (CPAT HER 30292). A little further down, the Neo-classical late Georgian Shire Hall overshadows the residential properties in this part of the street. Further down again, approaching the Church of St Andrew, the properties become much smaller in size (narrower plots and two-storey), forming a continuous terrace of residential housing, many gable-end on to the street. Once past the church, the buildings become more widely spaced as they approach the Lugg Bridge.

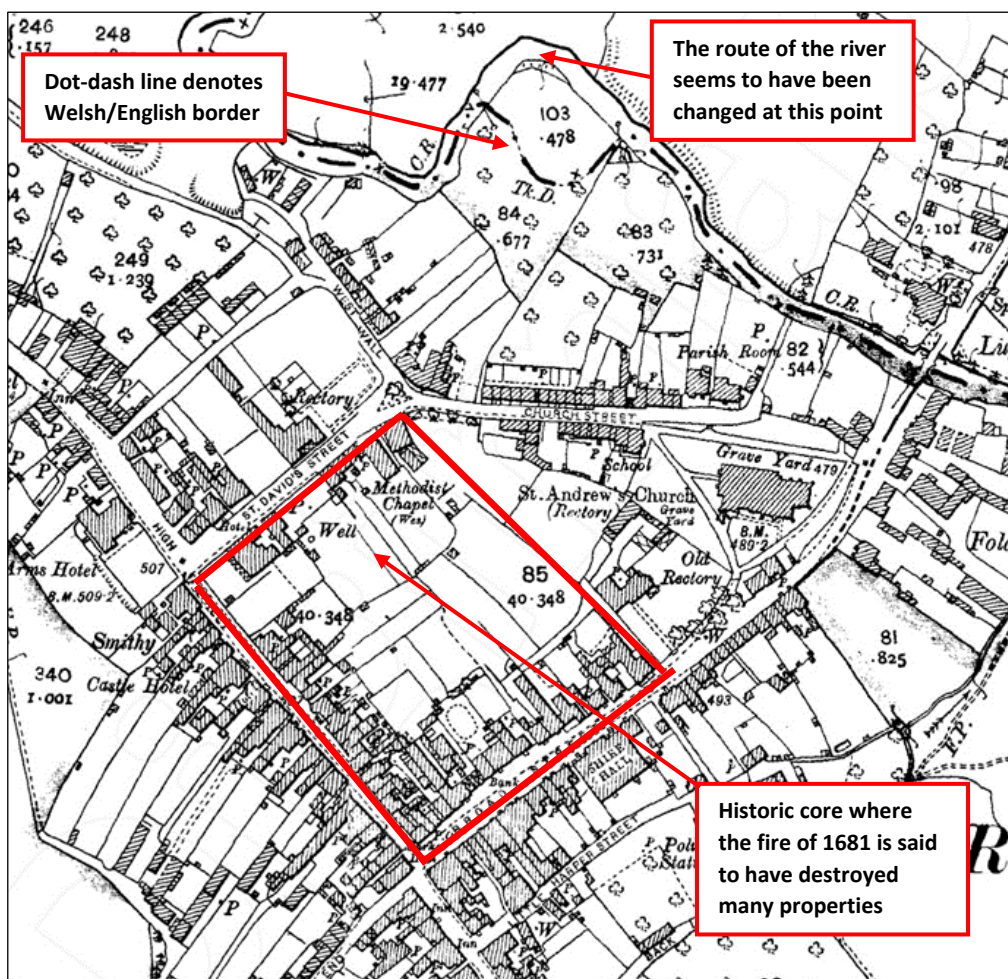


Figure 35. The central historic core of Presteigne (Digimap, 2016).

High Street, Broad Street and the River Lugg effectively form a barrier around the central part of the historic core. This can best be illustrated on an early 20C edition of the OS map (see figure 35), which shows the plot sizes and positions of the buildings concentrated along the two main streets, with the central core largely free. It has been suggested that a lack of buildings in this area was due to a great fire in 1681, which is said to have affected properties in High Street and St Davids Street (Howse, 1955).

The route of the River Lugg appears to have been altered sometime after the production of the 1845 tithe map for Presteigne. This can be seen at the river's most northern point in figure 35, where the dashed and dotted line running along the River Lugg and representing the border between England and Wales, is seen to bulge downwards.

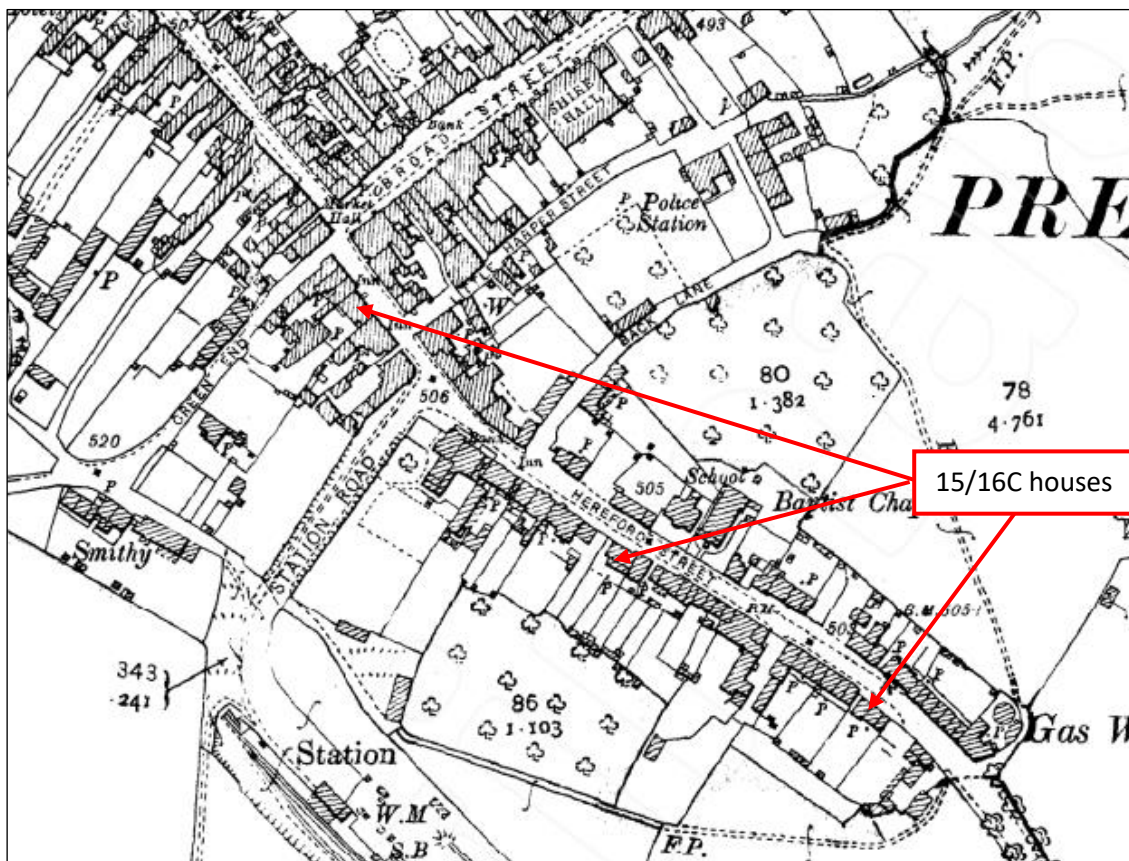


Figure 36. Hereford Road Presteigne (Digimap, 2016).

Although not part of the central historic core of the town, the main south-east route to Hereford (see figure 36), also appears to show the footprint of earlier burgage plots. A

medieval storied timber framed house with cross-wing has been recorded along the road (CPAT HER 30324) as has a former cruck-framed hall range with box-framed solar cross-wing, now subdivided into three separate cottages (CPAT HERs 32190 and 38647).

3.5.1 Early Medieval Evidence

There are two pieces of evidence that may confirm the presence of an early medieval settlement in Presteigne. The first is the suspected presence of some late Anglo-Saxon building fabric which has been incorporated into the north wall of the north aisle of the Church of St Andrew. The second is the town's name, which is thought to derive from the Domesday manor of *Humet*, thus inferring a pre-Conquest settlement.

The Church of St Andrew

The suspected Anglo-Saxon fabric in St Andrew's Church was identified from the results of an extensive survey carried out in the early 1960s by the husband and wife team of Harold and Joan Taylor, whose aim was to catalogue surviving Anglo-Saxon fabric in all English churches. The Taylors posited that the lower part of the north wall of the north aisle was originally part of an earlier aisleless church which had subsequently been extended southwards, and went on to describe a possible sequence of development (see figure 37). However, at the end of the description for St Andrew's church they added, "This account of Presteigne church is highly conjectural and should not be accepted, without further investigation, as clear proof that any part dates from before the Norman Conquest" (Taylor and Taylor, 1965:499).

Howard Taylor revisited his earlier work in 1984, but after re-analysing the architectural features of the churches from the previous survey, concluded that many of these could not be accurately dated to the Anglo-Saxon period without further contemporary written records. Unfortunately, St Andrew's was one of the churches that could not demonstrate any recognisable Anglo-Saxon features or architecture (Talyor, 1984).

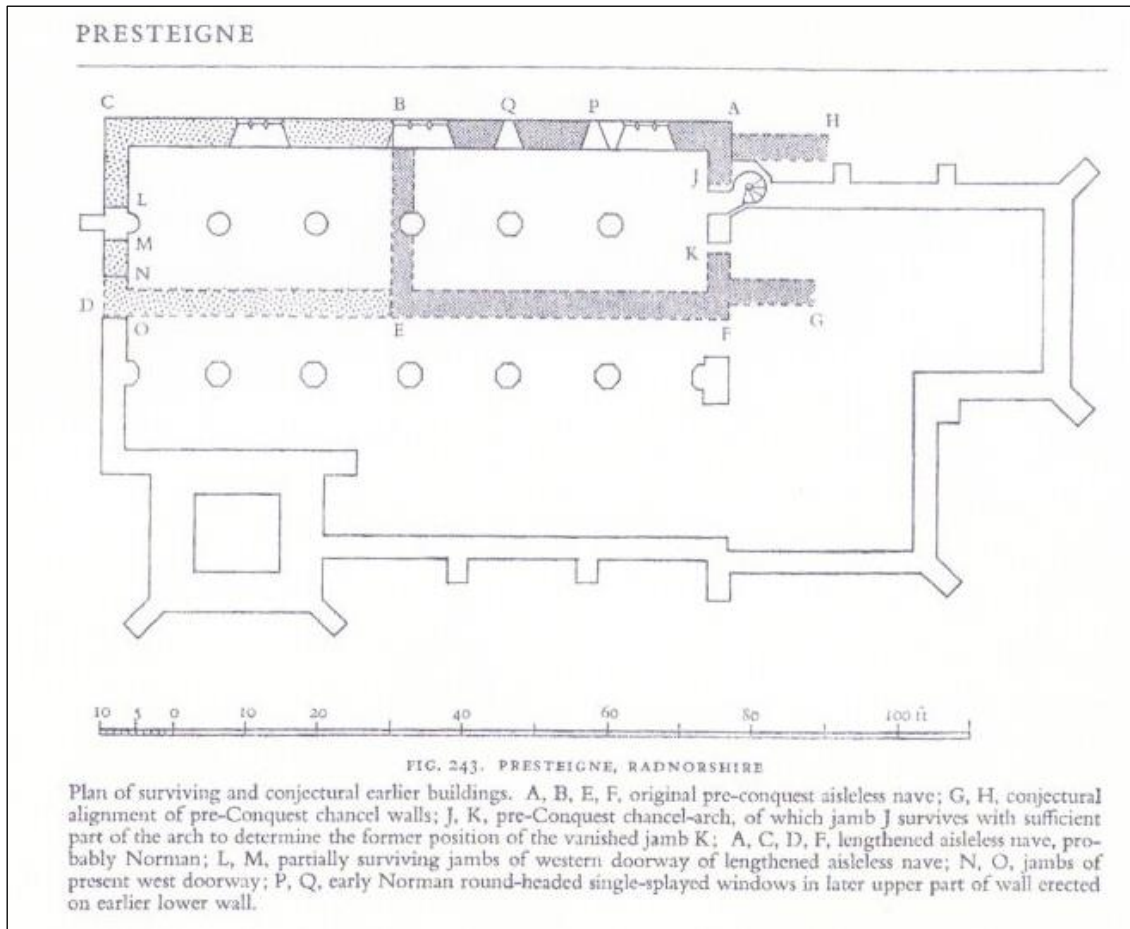


Figure 37. Taylor and Taylor's (1965) original plan sketch of St Andrew's Church including comments for its proposed development.

A later survey by CPAT (part of a wider Radnorshire Churches Survey) said that St Andrew's was "A complex church which would benefit from a very detailed survey. More than one possible building sequence can be offered" (CPAT, 2016b). Although the church is largely Perpendicular Gothic in style, it still retains architectural remnants from the early Norman period which have been incorporated into the existing building fabric, such as a blocked window in the north wall of the north aisle. The stonework throughout the building is of a mixed appearance with blocks of varying sizes and shapes, mostly laid to course with some ashlar. The majority are sandstone of varying hues with some mudstone. This lends weight to the complex building sequence.



Figure 38. Remnants of St Andrew's pre-Conquest chancel arch (TA, 2015)

Figure 38 shows the east end of the narrow north aisle and gives an appreciation of the original height of the chancel arch and its narrow width. The wall to the left is the north wall of the north aisle, where it is believed some Anglo-Saxon stonework is still visible on its exterior face. Plain narrow semi-circular chancel arches are typical of small Anglo-Saxon churches, for example at St Lawrence in Bradford-on-Avon Wiltshire. On some larger Anglo-Saxon churches the arch is wider, as at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire. A wider semi-circular arch can also indicate early Norman influence, although in the fully evolved style, the arches are usually heavily patterned such as at Kilpeck in Herefordshire.

Place-Names

The first recognisable version of the modern place-name of Presteigne is *Prestehemed*, which appears in a survey of King Stephen's landholdings in Herefordshire in 1137, where the owner was given as Osbern Fitz Richard (Galbraith and Tait, 1950). It is also recorded in a unique transcript (copy) of the original Domesday folios for Herefordshire, made some time between 1160 to 1170 in the reign of Henry II (now known as *Balliol MS 350*). It is believed this copy was in use at the Exchequer at that time, as it appears to trace the contemporary holders of the land mentioned in the original Domesday Book (marked in the marginalia). It is extremely useful in helping to identify many of the Domesday place-names that were previously poorly described or omitted (Darby, 1954).

Although the name Presteigne does not appear in the Domesday survey in a form we would recognise today, the manors of *Humet* from the Leintwardine Hundred and *Clatretune* from Hazeltree Hundred, have both been suggested as possible candidates. *Clatretune* is thought to get its name from a now deserted settlement to the south of the town where the Clatter Brook still runs today. This possibility was first mooted by a local historian, the Reverend Jonathan Williams in 1858, although no traces have been identified on the ground (CPAT HER 4134). From place-name analysis, the brook occurs as *Claterbrooke* (1509) and *Clatebroke* (1545) and may mean "noisy or stony stream" from OE *clater broc* (Morgan, 1998). However, the name in Domesday, *Clatretune*, has the common OE *tun* element, so perhaps it could have been "the farm or settlement at the Clatter (brook)".

The Clatter Brook is a tributary of the River Lugg (see figure 41) which rises at Rowley, 2 miles to the west of Presteigne. It runs along the southern edge of the town to join the River Lugg on its eastern side. This could mean that the Domesday settlement of *Clatretune* may have been located anywhere along the line of the Clatter Brook. However, remnants of *Clatretune* still appear to persist today in the form of Clatterbrune House and Clatterbrune Farmhouse, both of which are situated close to Clatter Brook Bridge where it crosses Hereford Street on the southern edge of town.

Presteigne as *Humet* is not immediately obvious. The place-name was originally thought to derive from two elements, OE *preosta* (priest) and OE *haemed* (household) meaning “priest’s house”, “priest’s household” or “household of the priests”. An alternate version had it derived from three elements, OE *Preost*, OE *hemm* (boundary/border) and OE *maed* (meadow), giving “priest’s border meadow” or the “border meadow of the priests” (Owen and Morgan, 2008). Speculation that St Andrew’s Church was an Anglo-Saxon Minster (or a daughter church) which had priests in residence or who owned the land around it, also fits in with the latter meaning of the name.

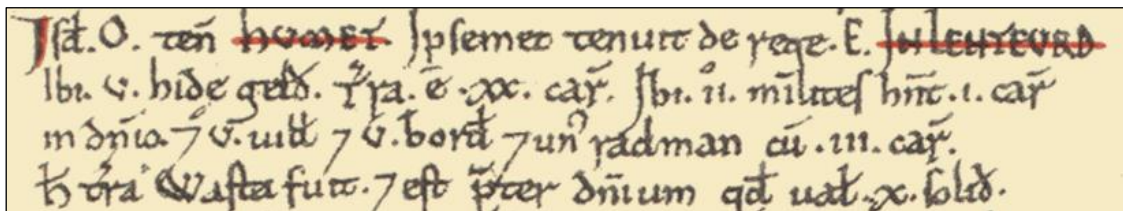


Figure 39. Shropshire Domesday folio showing the entry for *Humet* (Open Domesday, 2016).

The *maed* topographical name is known to occur as both a first and second element in a small number of place-names in the UK (Gelling and Cole, 2000). Presteigne and its near neighbour, Kinsham (3 miles to the east), both share this same common element, where it can be found in the first known references to Kinsham ie. *Kingesmede* (1210-12) and *Kingeshemed* (1216).

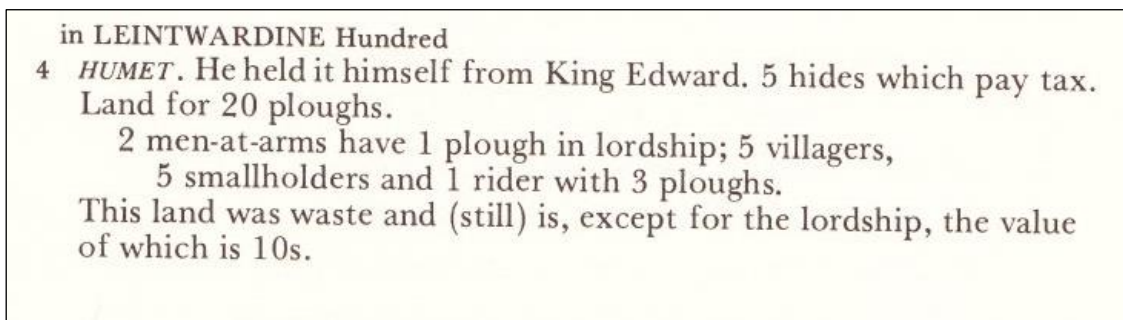


Figure 40. Translation of *Humet* Domesday entry (Thorn and Thorn, 1986).

The link between Presteigne and Kinsham was proposed by Bruce Coplestone-Crow (1989) when he suggested that the name *Humet* was thought to be a contracted version of *Hemm-maed* meaning “border meadow” or “meadow on a boundary” which refers

to a great triangle of flat meadow land surrounded by hills, laying between the modern settlements of Presteigne and Kinsham. The River Lugg and its tributary (the Hindwell Brook) flow from the north and south of Presteigne in an easterly direction to their confluence just before Kinsham, creating the wedge-shaped area of fertile ground (see figure 41).

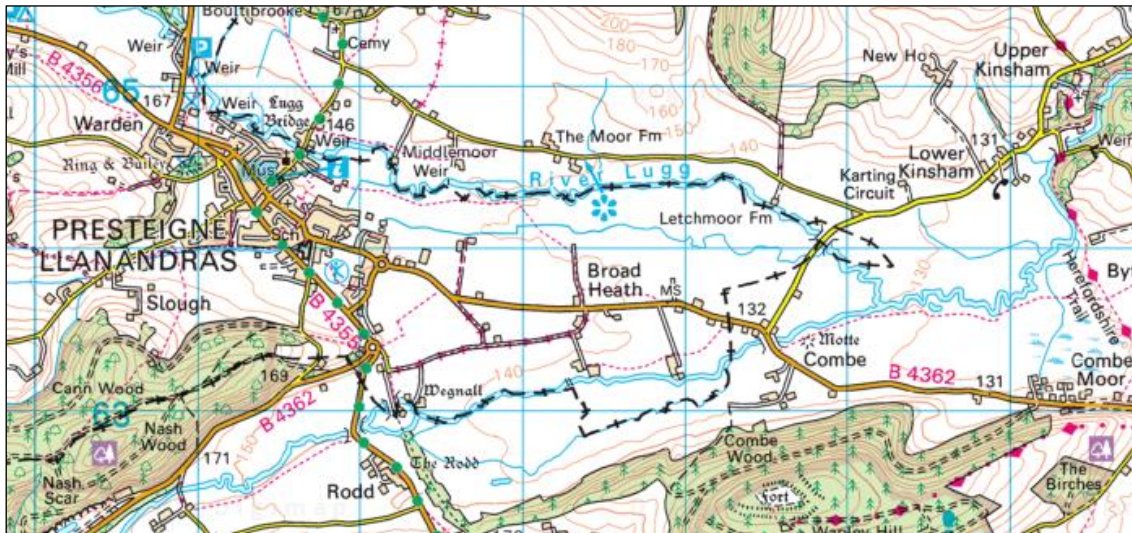


Figure 41. The wedge-shaped meadow between the River Lugg to the north and the Hindwell Brook to the south. The town of Presteigne is to the west and Kinsham to the east (Digimap, 2016).

The original Domesday manor of *Humet* was then divided at a later date into *Prestehemed* and *Kingeshemed* ie. the “priest’s border meadow” and the “king’s border meadow” indicating that the land to the west was now in the hands of the priests (or church) and the land to the east was in Royal hands.

As we have seen Presteigne is recorded as *Prestehemed* in 1137. It then evolves to Prestmede (1249), Presthemed (1291), Prestende (1378-9) and Presteyne (1545). Owen and Morgan (2008) suggest the later reduction of the name to two syllables was due to confusion of –emd with –ende, and subsequent loss of –d. The process of syllable reduction occurring several times in the Welsh Marches.

If the original meaning of *Humet* was “border meadow” or “meadow on a boundary” what was the boundary it was referring to as the “priest” or “king” prefixes had not been

added at this stage? This is not clear but could mean the boundary between Herefordshire and Shropshire or perhaps Herefordshire and Wales. The former seems the most likely as the Shropshire Domesday manors lay to the north and the Herefordshire ones to the south at this geographical point. Also, the border with Wales was probably much further to the west of *Humet* as evidenced by the presence of Anglo-Saxon place-names (see Chapter 4). The earliest Welsh spelling of Presteigne appears in 1262 as *Llanandras* meaning “Church of At Andrew” (Owen and Morgan, 2008), although this does not shed any light on the border argument.

There is one last intriguing possible explanation of the place-name *Humet*. Richard Coates (2006) proposed that the name may actually have a Brittonic (Welsh) origin. He suggested that *Humet* may not be a garbled form of *Hemm-maed*, but actually one element, *hemed*, which was the OE contracted version of a primitive Welsh regional district called *Maes Hyfaidd* (where *Hyfaidd* is a personal name). Coates further suggested that this district included at least New Radnor, Presteigne, Discoed, Kinsham, Stapleton, Combe, Rodd and possibly Stanage, which is a substantial area. He went on to say that Norton, Downton, Evenjobb, Kinnerton and Walton may also have been a part of it, but acknowledged this needed further documentary research.

Only Stanage, Norton and Discoed appear in the Domesday survey, which may reinforce the argument that all the others could have belonged to *Hemed/Humet* and are thus not named individually. If so, this explanation would not be at odds with the origin of the place-names of Presteigne and Kinsham. Presteigne being “that part of *Hemed* belonging to the priests” and Kinsham “that part of *Hemed* belonging to the king”.

As seen earlier, the first recognisable form of Presteigne, *Prestehemed*, occurs in 1137 when it was listed as being held by the grandson of Osbern fitz Richard. Therefore, if the argument for *Humet* is not upheld, this must represent the earliest documentary evidence for the town.

3.5.2. Medieval Evidence

Immediate post-Conquest documentary evidence for the town is almost none existent. Most documentary materials are from 13C onwards in the form of land grants, charters and wills. One of the few exceptions being the first mention of Presteigne in King Stephen's land holdings as discussed previously. The earliest *firm* material dating evidence comes from the remnants of Norman architecture in the Church of St Andrew, which may also be contemporary with the motte and bailey castle. The following looks at some of the evidence which is useful for establishing a timeline for the town.

Some Early Documents

In 1225, a grant to hold a market in the town was awarded to a William fitz Warin, from whom the sum of one palfrey and five marks was taken. The grant was done in error as it was later reversed in 1229 and fitz Warin's money returned along with compensation of five bucks (Howse, 1956).

Presteigne also appears in a series of charters from the "Black Book of Wigmore" which is a cartulary of the Mortimer family. The barony of Presteigne was acquired by the Mortimers c1230, around the time Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore married the widow of Reginald Braose, from whom it is thought the barony came. This will be discussed in more detail in the Kington section.

In 1293, a tax of one-fifteenth of moveable wealth was levied on the inhabitants of Presteigne (Faraday, 1973). The number of those recorded was only 17, which contrasts sharply with a fragment of a rent roll of 1300 which shows the names of over 70 residents (Howse, 1956). This may be explained by the one-fifteenth tax only recording the relatively "well off" citizens. The poorer citizens (who had few or no moveable goods) were exempt. Unfortunately, the *Fifteenth* only records the names of the townspeople (and sometimes their occupation) but not their address or other property details.

Documents relating to Presteigne become more plentiful from 14C onwards in court rolls and other manorial documents. Transcripts of some are recorded in the *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society* and give a brief glimpse of life in the town during this period. For example, we see “David the Miller” complaining about “William of Kynarton” in a court held in *Presthemede* on 24 January 1340, thus implying there might have been a mill in the town if there was a miller. The rental documents and wills from this time give few property details and not enough to accurately map where they were located in the town. Many of the court documents give the names and the transgressions of the citizens but not their addresses, although it is interesting to note the mixture of Norman French, English and Welsh names that appear.

There are also a set of documents discussed in the later *Early Street Names and the Development of the Town* section which all date from the 14C. They refer to people and property in Presteigne and include the early streets names, which are extremely useful for reconstructing the town’s development.

The Castle

If the late Anglo-Saxon evidence for the date of St Andrew’s Church is accepted, then the next oldest structure in Presteigne may be the castle. Unfortunately, no firm early dating evidence has been found and no archaeological investigations have been carried out to confirm whether it was built before or after the Norman Conquest. There are no records of the castle until 1262 when it was reputedly destroyed by Llywelyn ap Gruffydd (CPAT HER 318), although a brief reference in a CIPM inquisition document of 1337 refers to the “Castleditch at Presthende” (Soulsby, 1983). There is very short lane just off Scottleton Street and opposite the castle still called “Castle Dyche” which may hint at an earlier defensive ditch associated with the castle.

It is known that Richard fitz Scrob (Scrobe or Scrope), was granted lands by Edward the Confessor (1042-1066) in Herefordshire sometime prior to the Conquest and is believed to have started construction of a castle around 1052 (Here HER 1661), from which the

later town of Richard's Castle takes its name. Richard's son was Osbern fitz Richard who inherited his father's estates and gained many others by the time his land holdings were assessed in the Domesday Book. He held many of the manors around Presteigne, including *Humet*.

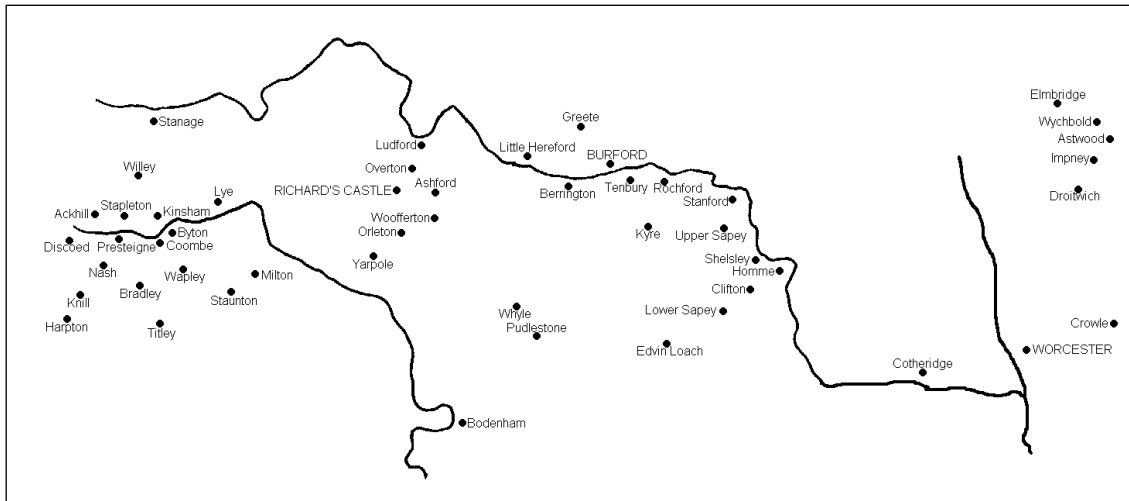


Figure 42. The Barony of Richard's Castle in Herefordshire and Worcestershire (Remfry, 1997).

Since Osbern fitz Richard's western holdings are some distance from Richard's Castle (see figure 42), which probably represented his nearest "stronghold" at the time, he may have decided to consolidate his position in his western most manors by putting some defensive measures in place. If so, he may have been responsible for siting a simple motte and bailey castle in Presteigne (and possibly in some of his other manors too). This would imply that the castle could have been erected sometime between the mid to late 11C. A fuller discussion of the relationship between the castle, town and church is carried out in Chapter 4.

Early Street Names and Town Development

The oldest streets in Presteigne based on documentary evidence are Broad Street, High Street, West Street and Green End. All are 14C, although if the documentary evidence is correct, then the oldest (High Street and Broad Street) and the most recent (Green End and West Street) are nearly 100 years apart in age.

The earliest reference to High Street (King's Highway) and Broad Street (Magna Strata ie. Great Street) are in the same document (dated 1300) which refers to the rental of a burgage or bugages on land adjacent or between the two streets. By 1372, High Street is being referred to as "alto vico" in a will and again in 1380 in another will as "le Heghestrete", along with Broad Street as "le Brodestrete", all with respect to burgages (Howse, 1952).

West Street (now Scottleton Street) and Green End both make an appearance in a will of 1389. There is reference to messuage in West Street (le Weststret) and grange in Broad Street (le Brodestret) next to Green End (le Greneende). In the same year in another document, there is reference to messuage in Broad Street (le Brodestrete) and High Street (alta strata), also land and a meadow called "Harperslye" which is possibly in the area of the what is now Harper's Lane (Howse, 1952).

Soulsby (1983) believed that High Street and Broad Street were indicative of a planned town and that the initial Anglo-Saxon settlement would have grown up around the church. Later 13C expansion leading to burgages being laid out along Broad Street, while others "lined the track leading up to the castle which developed into High Street" (1983:220). This reference to High Street as a track seems a little strange given that he also cites the same document referenced above (ie. Howse, 1952. *Some Early Presteigne Documents*) which indicates it was an established street and not a track. See figure 43. A full analysis of the routes and streets will be carried out in Chapter 4.

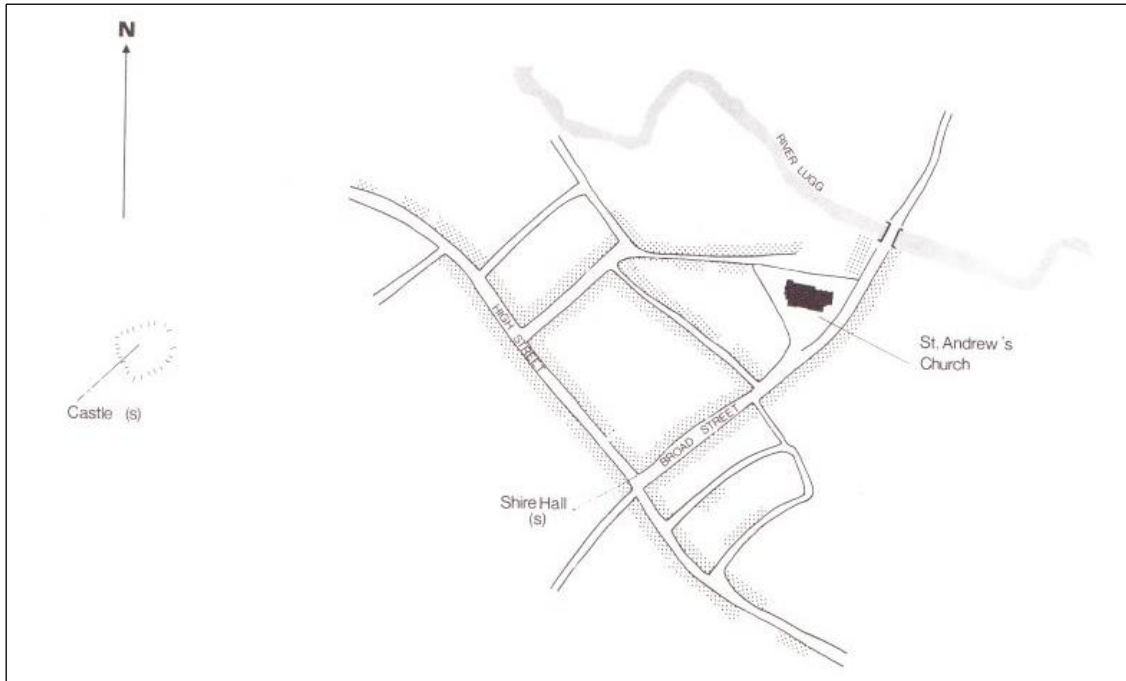


Figure 43. The planned town layout of medieval Presteigne according to Soulsby.

RCAHMW Survey

Presteigne has the distinction of being the Welsh town with the largest number of known pre-1550 domestic buildings, after a survey conducted by the RCAHMW in the early 21C (see figure 44 and key in table 1). All the early houses have been identified as timber framed with box framing, which allowed greater height than cruck framing (the most common form of construction at that time). Some cruck-framed buildings do survive in Presteigne, but they are few compared with timber framed with box framing.

The majority of the surviving houses are of the “hall and cross wing” (see figure 45) type which present a distinctive plan, having a two-bayed hall parallel to the street with an outside cross-passage and wing (usually jettied) whose gable-end faces the street. The cross-passage is wide with an upper chamber above and provides access to the rear of the burgage plot. A complete survival of this type of house is Whitehall in Hereford Street (close to the intersection with Broad Street and High Street) which has been tree-ring dated to 1463 (Suggett, 2005).



Figure 44. Location of 15C and 16C houses in Presteigne (Suggett, 2005).

Map Key	Street	House	Description
1	Broad Street	Tan House	Hall (rebuilt) with box-framed cross-wing. Tree ring dated to 1436.
2	Broad Street	Fold Farm	Hall and box-framed cross-wing. The hall is much altered; the timberwork of the wing is visible at first-floor and attic levels. The gable facing the street was jettied and close studded.
3	Broad Street	Old Bridge Inn	16C timber-built, storeyed house of 3 bays, square-framed with a jettied front to the street.
4	Broad Street	Oak Villas	Cruck-framed hall-house with jettied cross-wing.
5	Broad Street	Well House	Surviving medieval cross-wing has 3 bays with a jettied side wall.
6	Broad Street	No. 9 and White House	Box-framed cross-wing. Evidence for an adjoin cruck-framed hall to NE.
7	Broad Street	Hafod	Fragment of two-storeyed box-framed cross-wing with side jetty.
8	Broad Street	The Duke's Arms	16C storeyed house with central passage and jettied front to street.
9	Canon's Lane	The Old Rectory Barn	Trusses from a large box-framed hall-house reused in this barn.

Map Key	Street	House	Description
10	St David's Street	The Rectory	Reconstructed medieval house with reused cusped trusses.
11	St David's Street	St David's House	Two surviving box-framed wings, one jettied.
12	Scottleton Street	Nos. 4-6	Four-bayed cruck-framed 3-unit hall house.
13	High Street	Mansion House	Complex timber-framed storeyed house jettied to the street.
14	High Street	No. 47	Jettied close-studded range with outside passage.
15	High Street	No. 9	Cusped truss reused in 17C building.
16	High Street	No. 1	Timber-framed storeyed corner house.
17	Hereford Street	Whitehall	Complete hall and cross-wing house. Tree ring dated to 1463.
18	Hereford Street	Cromwell House	Storeyed timber-framed house with cross-wing.
19	Hereford Street	Nos. 26-28	Cruck-framed hall range and a box-framed solar cross-wing.

Table 1. RCAHMW survey of 15/16C Presteigne Houses.

An older example of the hall and cross wing house is Tan House in Broad Street (close to the Lugg Bridge), whose timbers have been tree-ring dated to 1436. The house was part of a tannery which, in common with other “undesirable” industries, would originally have been positioned on the outer periphery of town. The earliest reference to a tannery on the site appears to be in 1754 (CPAT HER 30267) and it was still in existence at the end of the 19C where it is shown on an OS map of 1890. Tanneries are usually sited near water as a plentiful supply is needed in the cleaning and curing process (and to keep the smell away from the residents). However, in this case it is interesting to note that it is opposite the church. Why here? Possibly because it is adjacent to one of the major routes and the river may also have been used to move supplies in and hides out.

Nationally, it would appear that there was a revival of urban building in the first half of the 15C after a 14C decline. The surviving medieval houses in Presteigne would seem to follow this trend, although, unlike most of England and Wales, its 14C decline was partially attributed to Welsh attacks which destroyed many of its buildings. More dateable building fabric in the central part of the town may have been evident if a disastrous fire in 1681 had not destroyed an estimated 20 – 25% of the total housing stock (Suggett, 2005).

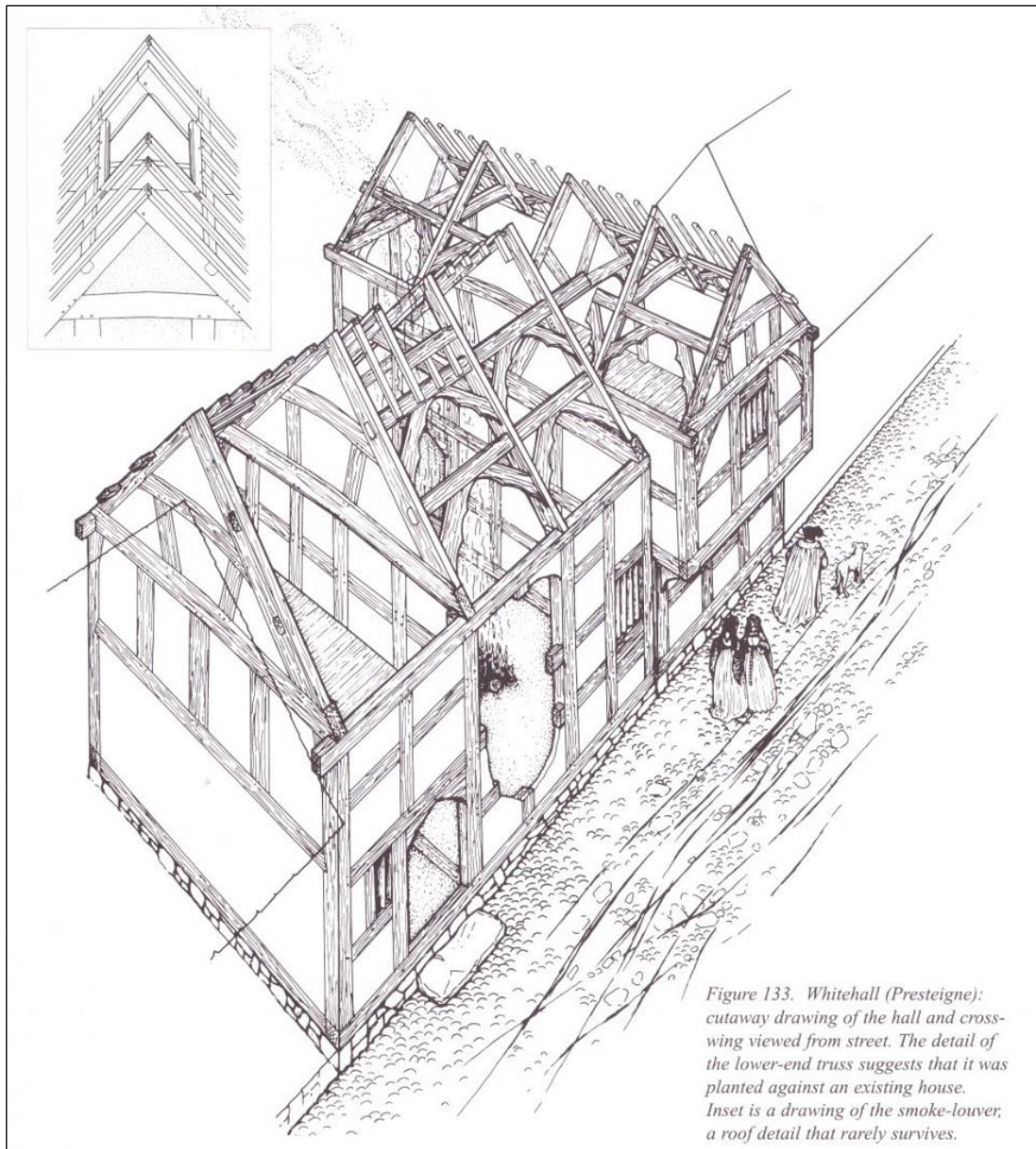


Figure 45. Whitehall, Hereford Street, Presteigne is an example of a hall and cross-wing timber framed house (Suggett, 2005).

3.6 Kington

The small market town of Kington (population 3,200) is located in the largely rural area of north-west Herefordshire, close to the border with Powys. The hills of Bradnor, Rushock and Herrack dominate the town to the north with Hergest Ridge to the west, channelling the Back Brook to the north of the town and effectively creating its northern boundary. The River Arrow approaches from the south-west forming its southern boundary. Both meet on the eastern outskirts of the town with Offa's Dyke one mile east again. Leominster lies to the east and Hereford to the south-east on the edge of the low laying fertile farmland of the Herefordshire plains.

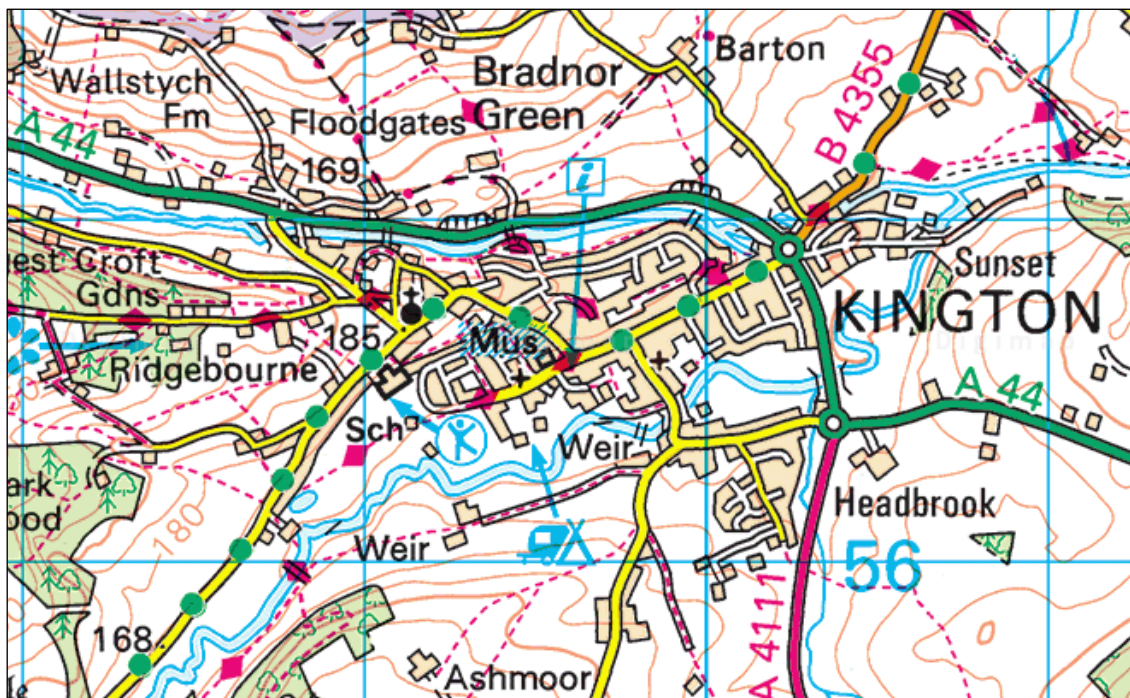


Figure 46. Kington – showing the urban area and main routes (Digimap, 2016).

Kington lies on the A44, a major east-west route between England and Wales linking Oxford, Worcester and Leominster in the east with Aberystwyth in the west. This represented one of the main drover's route from central Wales into England, which continued well into the 19C. The arrival of the railway into the town in 1857 facilitated, rather than diminished, Kington's position as a livestock market town, with sheep, cattle, pigs, horses and poultry brought in and out by train. The station was on the eastern edge of town and despite the early success of the railway did not survive. The passenger

service ceased in 1955 and freight in 1964. Like Presteigne, part of the old railway line was utilised as the route of the modern bypass, which largely follows the line of the Back Brook, before sweeping south on the eastern edge of the town. A weekly livestock market still continues today and the town still largely retains its agricultural character.

There are two distinct historic cores in the Kington. The oldest buildings lie on elevated ground to the west, centred around the remains of the castle motte and the Church of St Mary. The main part of the town lies on relatively low lying land to the east along High Street (now incorporating Duke Street and Victoria Road) and Bridge Street. This is where the medieval footprint of the town is most apparent, the buildings still retaining much of their earlier burgage layouts. The two historic areas are linked by Church Street.

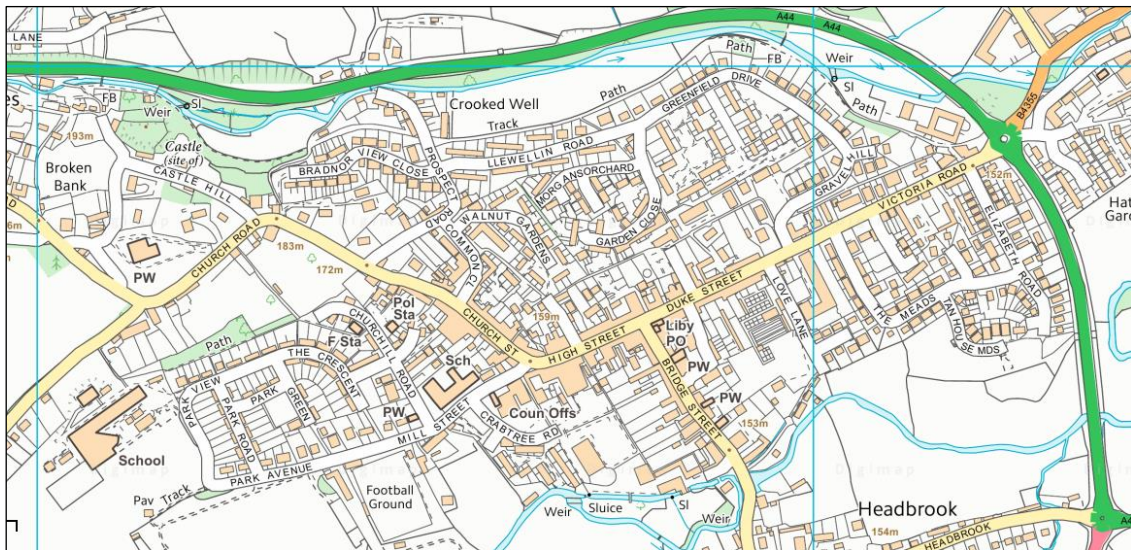


Figure 47. Kington - showing the main streets in the town (Digimap, 2016).

The majority of buildings within the historic cores are Georgian or Victorian in appearance, although a few retain some hidden medieval timbers. External timber framing or jettied upper storeys are rare. Most properties are two and three storey retail premises with accommodation or storage above. There are no industries within the historic core. Post 20C modern housing developments have developed to the north of Church Street, High Street, Duke Street and Victoria Road. Also to the south of Victoria Road and Church Road.

The oldest dateable buildings in the town are St Mary's Church (Here HER 6929) and the castle motte (Here HER 350), which could be late 11C at the earliest. The oldest part of the church is its c1200 sturdy tower which is not in line with the present church, suggesting it was aligned with an earlier building, of which no trace remains. The tower is estimated to be 1.8m (6ft) thick with a battered plinth and has one existing door at ground level, whose frame incorporates draw bar holes. It has one modern window and several narrow lancets. There is evidence of an earlier doorway above the present one which suggests the tower was built for defence (HAN, 1996). Its presence so close to the castle motte and its obvious defensive capabilities, may suggest they were both within a defended area, although there is no evidence to confirm this.

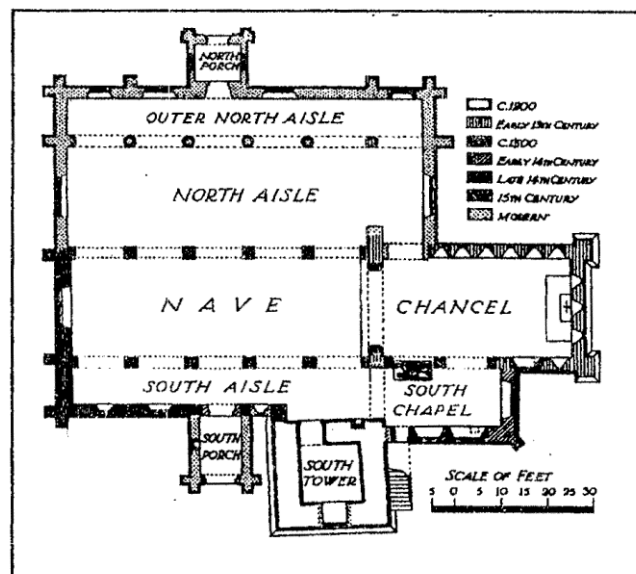


Figure 48. Plan of St Mary's Church Kingston (HAN, 1996).

However, a date for the castle motte is problematical. Kingston is listed in the Domesday Book as being held by the King and previous to that King Harold, so it is conceivable that a motte may have been erected just after the Norman Conquest. Alternately, it could be early 12C as the "Honour of Kingston" was granted to Adam de Port in 1108, which implies the creation of a major castle and borough, although the only definitive reference is for a request to repair the castle palisade in an 1187 pipe roll grant (Remfrey, 1997).

The properties in the vicinity of the church and motte are a mixture of styles and dates, although most, apart from those to the west of Broken Bank, pre-date the 20C. Most occupy generous plots and there is little trace of the distinctive pattern of burgages, indicative of a post-Conquest medieval settlement, although Herefordshire HER lists four possible sites for 13C tenement plots in this “old borough” area based on documentary evidence. One of the oldest surviving houses in Kington is located at Nos 1 and 2, The Wych (Here HER 16128), just to the west of the church. It contains some late 15C timber framing and is believed to be a 15C hall house with cross-wing. The 17C grammar school (Here HER 16178) is located to the south of the church on the old road to the Anglo-Saxon manors of Bredward and Lower Hergest. Figure 49 shows the pre 20C buildings on castle hill.

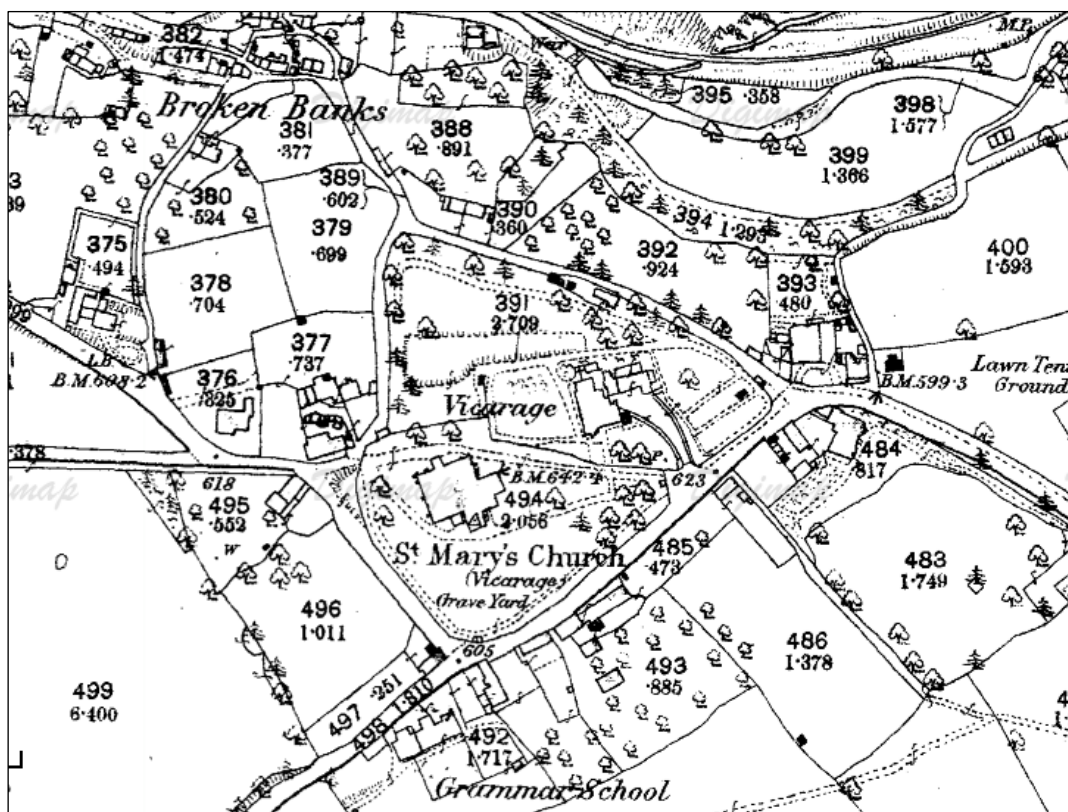


Figure 49. Early OS map of the area around St Mary's Church and the castle (Digimap, 2016).

Moving down Church Street toward the historic triangular-shaped market place, the two and three storey properties start to become more densely packed, although the plots are still relatively wide and the buildings themselves mostly double-fronted facing the

street. Two 17C buildings are located on either side of the street here, one an existing inn, The Royal Oak (Here HER 7404) and the other, the former White Lion (Here HER 7405). Another 17C building is on the corner of Common Close (Here HER 15406) and Church Street. The shape of the plots to the east and west of Church Street are also indicative of burgage plots. Again, Herefordshire HER has listed several possible sites for medieval tenement plots in the area around the medieval market place (Here HER 19379).

All of High Street, Bridge Street and most of Duke Street still retain their long narrow medieval plot plans, which is more evident on an early OS map as shown in figure 50.

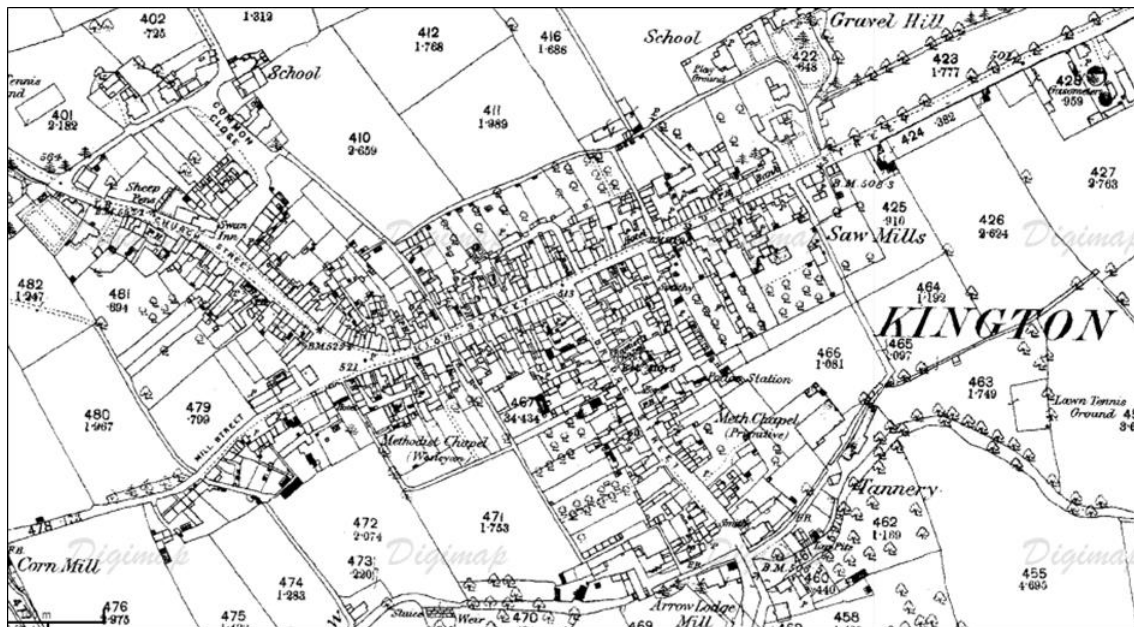


Figure 50. The historic core centred on High Street, Duke Street and Bridge Street (Digimap, 2016).

Few pre 18C buildings remain in this area, although a group of 15C houses exist together in Duke Street. No. 35 is a gable end on house with a first floor jetty and original moulded bressumer with curved brackets (Here HER 16141). Nos 36-38 Duke Street may originally have been one house with gabled wings at either end. It has two large gabled wings with roughcast and exposed timber-framing at the rear (Here HERs 16142, 16143 and 16144). See figure 51. Lastly, two late 15C/early 16C buildings survive at the top of Bridge Street. Nos 4 and 5 present three gables to the street but were originally one house, which was

enlarged and altered in 17C (Here HER 16166). Some external timber framing is visible on the left hand bay.

Unlike Presteigne, no systematic building survey has been carried out in Kington. The houses highlighted above are those that have been dated to pre 18C, although many more may contain hidden medieval timbers.



Figure 51. 15C timber-framed hall-house occupying Nos 36-38 Duke Street (TA, 2016).

3.6.1 Early Medieval Evidence

There are two pieces of evidence that confirm Kington as a pre-Conquest settlement. The first is its place-name which is of Anglo-Saxon origin. The second is more tentative and is based on a theoretical relationship with the other manors it was grouped with in the Domesday Book.

Place-Names and the Domesday Book

Kington appears in the Domesday Book as *Chingtune* from OE *cyning-tun*, meaning “Royal estate”. It is grouped with several other manors in the Elsdon Hundred of Herefordshire (see figures 52, 53 and table 2), all of which are recorded as waste in 1086 and held by the King (William).

Like Knighton discussed earlier, Kington appears to be a late habitative name which refers to a social or administrative arrangement. However, some of the manors it is grouped with do have early habitative names such as Chickward (chicken farm), Barton (beaver farm) and Rushtock (rushy brook). Kington could have been the later administrative centre for the other earlier manors. It is also worth noting that Kington and its grouped manors were previously held by King Harold or King Edward, thus continuing the royal land holding into the post-Conquest era.

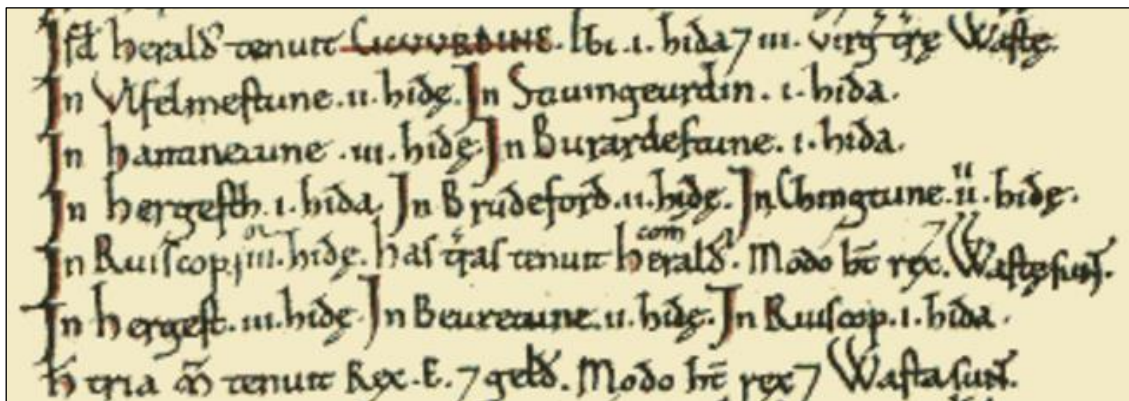


Figure 52. Herefordshire Domesday folio showing the entry for *Chingtune* (Open Domesday, 2016).

Harold also held CHICKWARD. 1 hide and 3 virgates of land, waste. In WELSON 2 hides. In CHICKWARD 1 hide. In HUNTINGTON 3 hides. In BOLLINGHAM 1 hide. In HERGEST 1 hide. In BREADWARD 2 hides. In KINGTON 4 hides. In RUSHOCK 4 hides. Earl Harold held these lands. Now the King has them; they are waste.

In HERGEST 3 hides. In BARTON 2 hides. In RUSHOCK 1 hide. King Edward held these three manors; they paid tax. Now the King has them; they are waste.

Figure 53. Translation of *Chingtune* Domesday entry (Thorn and Thorn, 1983).

If Kington is a Royal manor or estate, it may fit within the theoretical relationships and arrangements within a medieval multiple estate as proposed by Aston and Gerrard (2013). The early topographical habitative names of Barton and Chickward may indicate earlier settlements with specific functions. Huntington (Huntsman's estate) may be an early name too, being that part of the multiple estate where wildlife was hunted (perhaps deer or game). Rushtock and Breadward (Brides Ford) also point towards topographical features but are difficult to reconcile as functional settlements within a multiple-estate model. See table 2.

Modern Name	DB Name	Meaning	Size (Hides)	Previously Held
Barton	Beuretune	Beaver farm	2	King Edward
Bollingham	Burardestune	Fort guardian	1	Earl Harold
Bre(a)rdward	Brudeford	Brides Ford	2	Earl Harold
Chickward	Cicuurdine	Chicken farm	1 + 3 virgates	Earl Harold
Chickward	Stiuingeurdin ¹	Chicken farm	1	Earl Harold
Hergest	Hergesth ²	Unknown (Welsh?)	1	Earl Harold
Hergest	Hergest ²	Unknown (Welsh?)	3	King Edward
Huntington	Hantinetune	Huntsman's estate	3	Earl Harold
Kington	Chingtune	Royal estate	4	Earl Harold
Rushock	Ruiscop	Rushy brook	4	Earl Harold
Rushock	Ruiscop	Rushy brook	1	King Edward
Welson	Ulselmestune	Welshman's estate	2	Earl Harold

Table 2. Domesday manors grouped with Kington (name derivations from Coplestone-Crow, 2009 and BAR). ¹Stiuingeurdin is said to be part of Chickward in the later Herefordshire Domesday Book (1160-70). ²Hergest appears twice in the same entry with a very slight difference in spelling. Today there is an Upper and Lower Hergest. Perhaps this was a very early differentiation between the two as both were held by different people?

Welson as an early name is more tentative. If it is derived from "Welshman's estate" it could indicate either a very early manor that was retained by a native British person from the time of the early 7C Anglo-Saxon westwards migration or a very late manor, taken by a Welshman in the later 11C border skirmishes. The same early/late argument could be made for Hergest if it is a Welsh derivation. However, there is some

disagreement about the precise meaning of Welson. Thorn and Thorn (1983) suggest it could derive from a personal name, *Wulfhelm*, and thus mean “Wulfhelm’s farmstead/settlement”. If this is accepted, it would imply an early settlement name. However, Coplestone-Crow (2009) notes that the nearby Domesday manor of Eardisley had a “Welshry” which may have included Welson, thus favouring “Welshman’s estate”.

Bollingham (*Burardestune*) presents a lot of problems. Coplestone-Crow notes that it is annotated as *Bollingeshulla* in the later Herefordshire Domesday and is one of a series of Domesday names in the Welsh Marches which contain OE *burhward* (fort guardian). This suggests the presence of some kind of defensive structure which could be the mound/motte (Here HER 1626) close to Bollingham Chapel. An alternate meaning could be “hill of the pollarded tree”. Thorn (1983) suggests the first element could be the OE English personal name *Burgheard* with the suffix *tun*. He further theorises that the modern place-name is based on a hypothetical Old English place-name, Bol(l)ing, to which *hyll* (hill) and later *ham* (enclosure or hemmed-in place) have been suffixed.

This group of Kington manors seem to show a mixture of early and late Anglo-Saxon farmsteads/settlements. The presence of the early manors very tentatively suggests they could have belonged to a multiple estate (or part of a multiple estate) where each farmstead had a specialised function. This larger estate then fragmented and individual farmsteads became manors in their own right. Finally, they were all royally held just before and after the Conquest.

3.6.2 Medieval Evidence

Kington, more than any of the other case study towns, has an almost complete lack of easily available documentation for the first few hundred years after the Conquest. That which is available is associated with the barony and castle, and does not reveal many details about the town’s form during this time. All that can be said with any reliability is that the castle could have been built anytime between late 11C and late 12C when the

palisade was repaired, and that new and old Kington were in existence by 1267 when burgage rents for both were listed separately (see later discussions).

The Castle

Although the church and castle motte stand on elevated ground, they are separated by a dip between them, with Church Hill appearing to be the higher ground. However, it is very difficult to get an idea of the original height of the motte as it has been much altered since it was constructed (possibly c1100). The motte itself may have been built on natural rock, although this is unclear as no archaeological investigations have taken place there. The site also appears to have taken advantage of the Back Brook to its north as a defensive feature.

Kington was made into a barony not long after the Domesday survey in the late 11C/early 12C, and may have been created to stop Welsh raids into the west Herefordshire plains. It was granted to the de Port family at that time and remained with them until 1172, when it was seized by the Crown after Adam de Port rebelled against Henry II. The castle was repaired in 1187 along with many other castles in the Welsh Marches, in response to sustained pressure from Welsh attacks, and soon after the barony of Kington came into the possession of William de Braose. However, after deteriorating relations with his barons (including the de Braoses), King John attacked and burned many towns in the Marches in 1216. Kington is not recorded in the manors which King John destroyed, although it is thought it could not have escaped ruin, as at this point, it was superseded by Huntingdon as the lordship's caput, and became known as New Kington. The castle did not appear in any further records (Remfrey, 1997).

Kington castle motte was surveyed a number of years ago by Roger Stirling-Brown of the WNFC (HAN, 1996). He reported that the top of the motte appeared to show some remains of a defensive bank, with a roughly rectangular mound full of stone at its highest point. There were also the remains of a small round stone tower on its north-west slope, which he speculated had originally protected a postern gate in a former stone wall

surrounding the motte top. The remains of another round or D-shaped tower were also recorded on the north-east side. Stirling-Brown concluded that the stone mound might contain the remains of a small square keep, similar to Goodrich Castle (along with other examples), although he conceded that it could also be a heap of demolition rubble. He suggested that these discoveries could indicate a complete rebuilding of the castle between 1200 and 1240 as an enclosure with two or more round/D-shaped flanking towers with a keep, commanding the weaker ground between the castle and church.

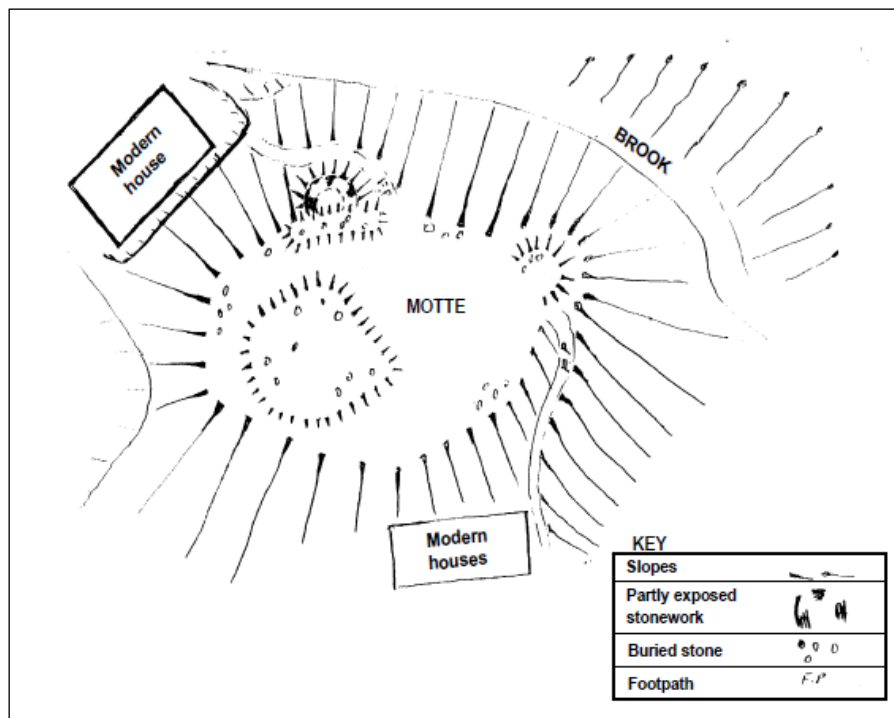


Figure 54. Kington castle motte (Stirling-Brown, 1996).

Early Street Pattern and Town Development

As discussed previously, there are two distinct historic areas in the Kington. The oldest is centred around the remains of the castle motte and the Church of St Mary, while the main part of the “lower” medieval town lies to the east along High Street, Duke Street, Victoria Road and Bridge Street. This is where the footprint of the earlier burgage plots are most noticeable. The church and castle are close together, the only case study town to have this common planted town arrangement.

The castle probably pre-dates the church (see earlier discussion). However, if the alignment of the church tower is due to an earlier church building, then this may have been contemporary with the castle or even to pre-date it. It may also explain why the castle was not located on church hill, which would appear to be the better site.

There seems to be no dispute about the first phase of development of Kington around the castle and the second on the lower ground to the east along High Street, close to crossing of the River Arrow. Indeed, Frank Noble called Kington the “oddest commercial borough development” in west Herefordshire, and although he did not explain this comment in any detail, he was probably referring to the new town/old town split as he goes on to provide some facts about the town’s development. He cites an inquisition of 1267 which gives a burgage rent of 22s from Kington borough, plus 64s and 3d for rents from New Kington, and goes on to speculate that the plan of the roads, the narrow lanes and garden plots, suggest that the new town was laid out on strips of open field (Noble, 1964).

Beresford listed Kington as a planted town, one of only three in Herefordshire, although he acknowledged that it is “a county where the evidence is neither explicit nor easy to elucidate” (Beresford, 1988:451). He described the town as being compact and centred on the T-junction of High Street, Bridge Street and Duke Street. He also differentiated between Old Kington, the area around the castle and the church, and New Kington, the bridge-head settlement (the lower town). All of which will be investigated further in Chapter 4.

4. Analysis

As discussed in Chapter 3, the main dating evidence for the medieval period across the case study towns is limited and inconsistent. For example, Clun, Knighton and Kington, have entries in the Domesday Book, whereas Presteigne has not, although the derivation of its name implies it is of early medieval origin. All four have post-Conquest castles, but only Clun's was rebuilt in stone. In addition, Clun and Knighton may have had town defences, whereas Presteigne and Kington have not. Presteigne has several documents relating to its early street names, but none are readily available for the other towns.

This chapter will now explore the wider influences that have shaped the study area during the medieval period, supplementing the evidence already presented in Chapter 3, along with a plan analysis of each town, to more fully explore their medieval urban development.

The first part will look at the wider influences the study area has been subject to during the medieval period, in order to place the towns within their historical context. It will build upon some of the themes already explored in Chapter 3 such as Domesday Book and place-names, and introduce new ones which have only been touched upon previously, such as Offa's Dyke, Christianity and ethnicity. Not surprisingly, many of these influences are interrelated. For example, Offa's Dyke not only reinforces the dominance of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the area, but also indirectly confirms an organised Christian presence, since it appears to have been laid out over the top of pre-existing parish boundaries.

The second part of this chapter will build upon the evidence presented in Chapter 3 to explore the medieval urban form and development of the towns, by adopting a similar plan analysis approach to that used by Keith Lilley (1995, 1996), with his work on smaller medieval towns. Here, an early OS map will be used as a base to define individual plan units (plots and streets that share similar morphological coherence), these will then be

analysed by examining their urban form in conjunction with the available historic, archaeological and architectural evidence, before proposing a developmental timeline for each unit and the town as a whole.

4.1 Influences

4.1.1 Offa's Dyke

Asser, writing in his *Life of King Alfred*, is famously quoted as saying that King Offa of the Mercians (who ruled from 757 to 796) had a “great dyke built between Wales and Mercia from sea to sea”. Whether this was the literal truth or not, Offa's Dyke today is still an impressive earthwork that runs in an almost vertical line from the Severn Estuary in the south to the Dee Estuary in the north, criss-crossing the English/Welsh border across the landscape. Figures 55 and 56 show sections of the Dyke close to Presteigne (Discoed) and Clun (Springfield).



Figure 55. Offa's Dyke at Discoed (CPAT, 2016a)



Figure 56. Offa's Dyke at Springfield (CPAT, 2016a)

It is an important feature in the study area, especially in Knighton, where it has been suggested that it may have formed part of the castle, and possibly town, defences (Creighton and Higham, 2005), although this has been questioned by Silvester (2005). There are still many unanswered questions about its original form and function despite several major investigations during the 20C (Fox, 1955; Noble, 1983; Hill and Worthington, 2003).

The Dyke consists of an earthen bank (which can reach heights of up to 8m) with a ditch (usually) to the west. It does not form a continuous line of defence, particularly in Herefordshire, where there are many gaps. The original form of the Dyke remains unknown, although archaeological evidence seems to point towards the western side of the bank being mostly revetted with turf to form an almost vertical face. The bank, along with its westerly ditch, would suggest that it was built to defend against attack from the west. It may also have had a wooden palisade running along the top of the bank, although there is no firm evidence to support this. However, sections of the Dyke in eastern Powys (in the old County of Radnorshire) and south Shropshire, have a well-defined eastern ditch and appear quite different in form to nearby western ditched sections (Bapty, 2016).

A two-week archaeological rescue excavation for a road-widening scheme was carried out in 1976 on the south-western outskirts of Knighton at Ffrydd Road. This offered an opportunity to explore the construction of the Dyke at this location before it was lost. The excavation showed that the Dyke consisted of a substantial bank and ditch which had been set out on cultivated land. The bank was of simple dump construction with buried soil of grey clay below. It averaged 8m wide and 2m high and had been built of dumps of progressively coarser material taken from the ditch (Allen, 1988; CPAT HER 17233). See figure 57 below.

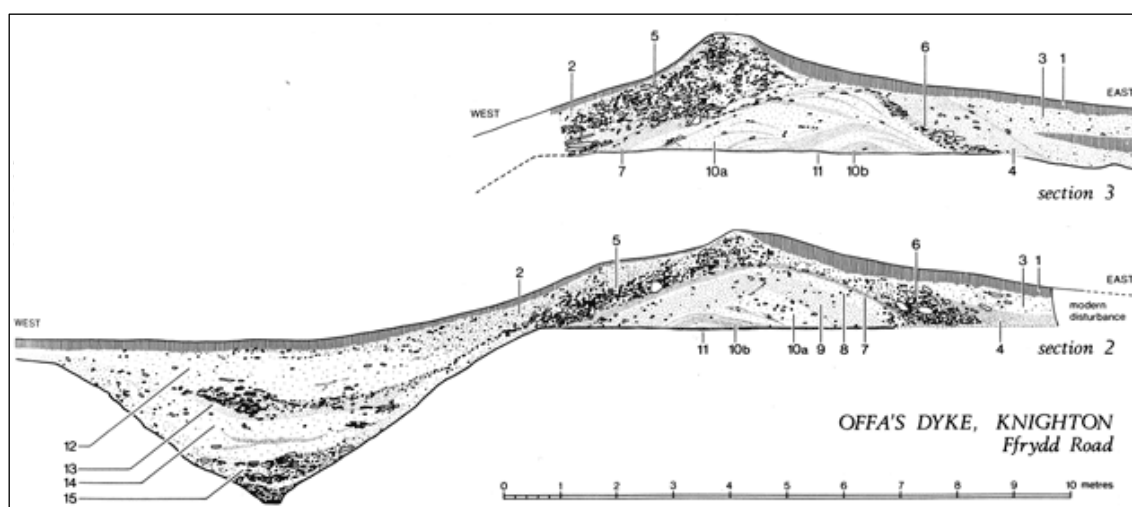


Figure 57. Section of Offa's Dyke from Ffrydd Road Knighton rescue excavation (Allen, 1988).

It is almost impossible to tell whether the Dyke was intended to form a continuous barrier to prevent the passage of people and animals, or whether there were controlled crossing points at intervals along its length, as it has been cut through or demolished in many places since it was built. Ann Williams writing in 2009 for a paper in *Walls, Ramparts and Lines of Demarcation*, summed up the investigations from Fox, Noble, Hill and Worthington, and the subsequent proposals about the Dyke's form and function. She stated that Fox's interpretation was that it was not a defensive or military work but a mutually agreed frontier between the Welsh and English, which would originally have stretched from "sea to sea". The gaps in its length attributable to places where it was not needed because of natural features (eg. rivers or dense forests).

Next came Noble who accepted Fox's view that the Dyke stretched from "sea to sea", although he had differing views about its alignment. He rejected the concept of the Dyke as a frontier but saw it as a control line set well-back within Mercian territory. The gaps forming crossing-points through which legitimate traffic was allowed to pass. Finally, Hill and Worthington radically truncated the length of the Dyke, relegating it to a section from Treuddyn to Rushock (near Kington). They also saw it as military and defensive structure to prevent access to Mercian territory from the Welsh, as reinforced by their excavations in the crossing-points where the ditch was still evident.

There are also a number of shorter dykes, to the east of Offa's Dyke and roughly contemporaneous with it such as Wat's Dyke (CPAT multiple HERs) in the north and the Rowe Ditch (Here HER 356) near Staunton-on-Arrow in the central region. See figure 58. Another series of short dykes can also be found to the west of Offa's Dyke such as the Wantyn Dyke (CPAT HER 1053) approximately 7 miles to the north-west of Clun. It has been suggested that these shorter dykes may have been earlier attempts to define the border by means of liner earthworks and that Offa's Dyke was the last co-ordinated effort to delineate the boundary between the two nations (Rowley, 2010).

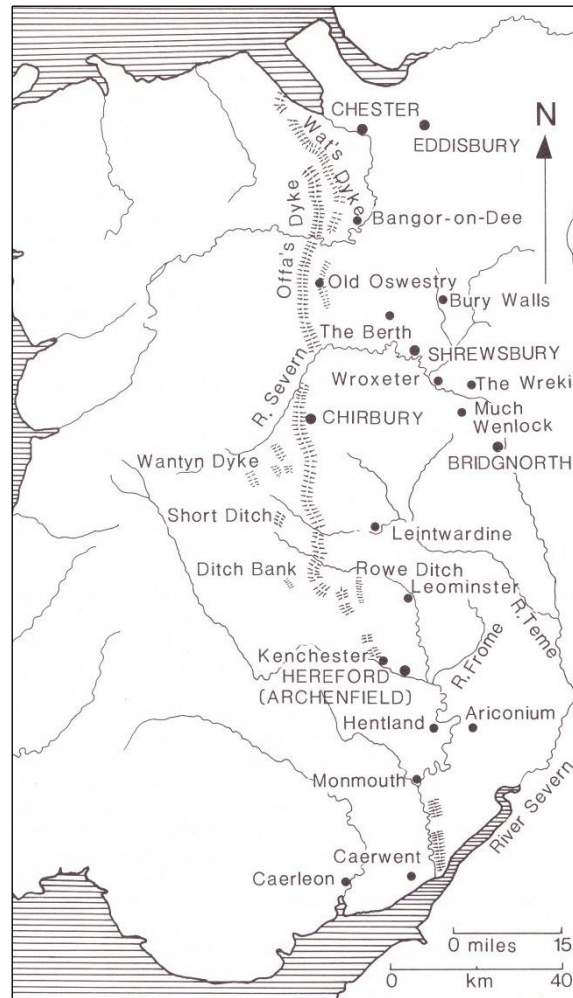


Figure 58. The Mercian dyke system in the Welsh Marches (Rowley, 1986).

Offa's Dyke seems to have been built to at least delineate the border between Powys and Mercia, if not to actually provide an impenetrable and patrolled border. Its very existence may have contributed to the longevity of the Anglo-Saxon presence in the study area, if not to their original settlement which seems to have pre-dated it. This is evidenced by the Dyke being laid out on cultivated land, as shown in the Knighton excavation, and the presence of Anglo-Saxon place-names to the west of it (see later discussion). It also cut across existing parish boundaries, which at that time would have come under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Hereford (see later discussion).

4.1.2 Offa's Dyke and Place-Names

Dykes, like other prominent man-made structures in the landscape (such as castles, forts, churches, etc), are often treated in the same way as natural topographical features, and have found their way into place-names, field names and even charters. For example, a charter of 958 in which King Edgar granted a parcel of land at Staunton-on-Arrow (3 miles south-east of Presteigne) to his thegn, Ealhstan is very descriptive and incorporates several references to “the dyke” and the “dyke-gate” (OE *dic* and *dicesgeat*) (Howe, 2008). The dyke in question here is the early medieval Rowe Ditch which runs to the east of the modern village of Staunton-on-Arrow down to Pembridge for approximately 2 miles in a north-south orientation. Likewise, Offa's Dyke is responsible for Discoed, which derives its names from OE *dic* (dyke) and *cot/e* (cottage or hut), meaning “cottage by the dyke”. Also Knighton, which is known in Welsh as *Trefyclo* and *Tref y clawdd*, which derives from town or settlement (*tref*) and bank or ditch (*clawdd*) (Morgan, 1998).

Gelling (1992) plotted place-names of Old English origin that occurred to the west of Offa's Dyke in the central border region (see figure 59 and table 3). She observed that these were remarkably free from Welsh influence as illustrated by the –tun names, which did not exhibit the same development to –tyn as those in the north, like Prestatyn. She took this to mean that the people in these settlements, whether under Welsh or Mercian lordship, must have continued to pronounce (and possibly spell) their names “in the English manner” for centuries after the Dyke was built.

A large number of the place-names in table 3 contain the word *hop* which is a term used by the Anglo-Saxons to denote a settlement in a remote enclosed place. It is characteristic of the central Welsh Marches and in this case seems to mean a secluded hollow or valley with restricted access (Gelling, 1992, 2000). Burlingjobb, Evenjobb, Cascob and Heyop use the OE *hop* as the second element. Knighton, Upper and Lower Weston, Whitton, Kinnerton, Downton, Womaston, Harpton and Walton contain the

more easily recognisable OE *tun* as their second element, which refers to a farm, farmstead or settlement.

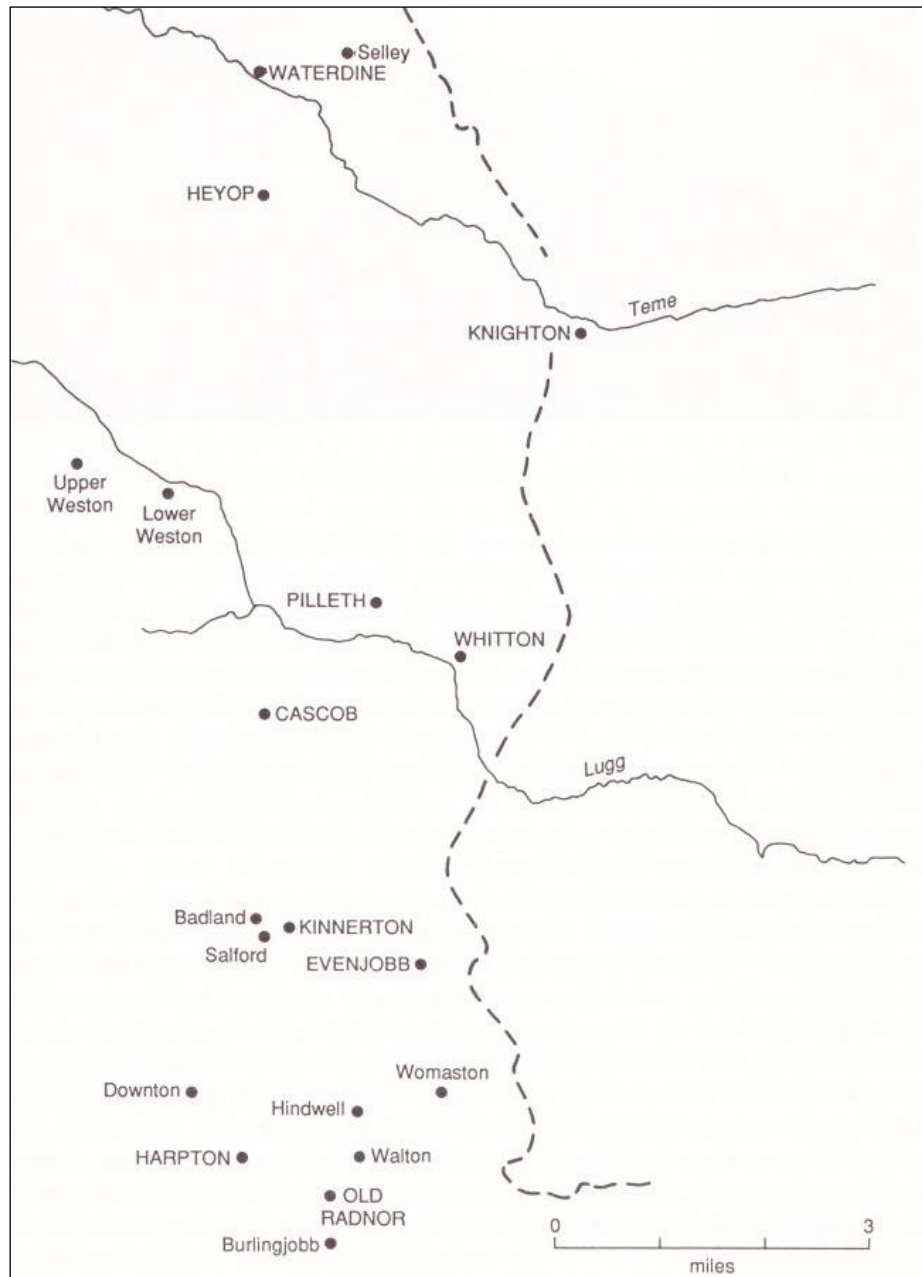


Figure 59. Old English place-names west of Offa's Dyke (parish names are in capitals). (Gelling, 1992).

The prevalence of English place-names to the west of Offa's Dyke, and the fact that many are personal names or related to topographical features, points towards long-term Anglo-Saxon settlement in the study area. The absence of later Welsh influence on the

settlement names may signify that the area remained predominantly Anglo-Saxon/English well after the construction of the Dyke, even though the settlements were then supposedly within the Kingdom of Powys. This raises the question of the purpose of the Dyke. If it was built for defence (to keep the Welsh out) then why would so many Anglo-Saxon settlements be located on the Welsh side? The simplistic answer is that these settlements were already in existence when the Dyke was constructed. However, if hostilities between Mercia and Powys were ongoing at the time it was built, then surely the Anglo-Saxon peoples to its west would have “relocated” to the east, behind the defences? If the settlers did retreat, then why does their cultural influence persist to this day instead of a Welsh one?

Modern Name	Meaning	Derivation
Barland	Beornweald's hill	OE <i>Beornweald</i> and <i>dun</i>
Burlingjobb	Berhtel's remote enclosed valley	OE <i>Berhtel</i> and <i>hop</i>
Cascob	Casca's remote enclosed valley	OE <i>Casca</i> and <i>hop</i>
Downton	Hill farmstead/settlement	OE <i>dun</i> and <i>tun</i>
Evenjobb	Emma's remote enclosed valley	OE <i>Emma</i> and <i>hop</i>
Heyop	High valley	OE <i>heah</i> and <i>hop</i>
Hindwell	Not known	Not known
Kinnerton	Cyneheard's farm	OE <i>Cyneheard</i> and <i>tun</i>
Knighton	Farm/settlement of the servants	OE <i>cniht/cnihta</i> and <i>tun</i>
Llanfair Waterdine	Church of St Mary in the water valley	W <i>Llanfair</i> , OE <i>waeter</i> and <i>denu</i>
Old Radnor	Red hill/ridge	OE <i>read</i> and <i>ofer</i>
Pilleth	Pool slope	OE <i>pul/pyll</i> and <i>hlid</i>
Salford	Salt ford or Salt road/way	OE salt and ford or OE salt and W <i>ffordd</i>
Selley	Not known	Not known
Harpton (upper and lower)	Dirty/slimy/filthy farmstead/settlement	OE <i>horh/horu</i> and <i>tun</i>
Weston (upper and lower)	West farmstead/settlement	OE <i>west</i> and <i>tun</i>
Walton	Welsh or stream farmstead/settlement	OE <i>walh/waelle</i> and <i>tun</i>
Whitton	Hwita's/White farmstead	OE <i>Hwita</i> or ME <i>white</i> and <i>tun</i>
Womaston	Wigmund's farm	OE <i>Wigmund</i> and <i>tun</i>

Table 3. English place-names to the west of Offa's Dyke (from Gelling's map). Place name derivations from: Gelling, 1992; Morgan, 1998; Gelling and Cole, 2000; Owen and Morgan, 2008.

4.1.3 Christianity in the Study Area

During the medieval period, the study area fell within the western fringes of the Diocese of Hereford, which was founded in 676 and seems to have been created for the Anglo-Saxon Mercian sub-kingdom of the Magonsaete. Although there is some debate about the exact area the Magonsaete ruled, the original diocese covered north Herefordshire, south Shropshire and Gloucestershire west of the Severn (Pretty, 1989). The Diocese of Hereford's boundaries today still largely cover modern Herefordshire and south Shropshire. All the study towns would originally have come under its jurisdiction, and all but one, Knighton, remain within it. Its original western borders were moved further eastwards when the Anglican Church in Wales was created in 1920. Knighton is now in the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon, although Presteigne remains in the Diocese of Hereford, even though it was located in the Old Welsh County of Radnorshire (border parishes had a choice of remaining in their original English diocese or moving to one of the new Church in Wales' dioceses).

Charter evidence in the form of land grants to the Church is valuable in establishing a timeline for the foundation of early Anglo-Saxon minsters and their "daughter" churches. Likewise royal land grants to individuals. Unfortunately, the Diocese of Hereford has few surviving early medieval records. This has been attributed to an attack by the Welsh leader, Gruffydd ap Llewelyn in 1052 (Davies, 2007). There are only four recorded early minster churches in the diocese and these are at Acton Beauchamp, Bromyard, Leominster and Much Wenlock (Bryant, 2012). Of these, Leominster is the closest to Presteigne (approximately 12 miles south-east), founded in 660.

It has been suggested that St Andrew's Church in Presteigne was founded as a daughter or satellite church of Leominster Priory, to serve the peoples on the western fringes of the diocese. However, the destruction of the Diocese of Hereford's early records cannot corroborate this. The foundation of Leominster Priory itself is attributed to Merewalh, "the first named Anglo-Saxon to rule in the central border area" (Pretty, 1989) and who owned land around Leominster, Wenlock, Maund, Lyde and along the River Monnow.

He is believed to have been king of the Magonsaete, although there appears to be no proof that the district name Magonsaete ever referred to Merewalh's kingdom. There is also some dispute about the exact spelling of his name (which means "famous or illustrious Welshman"). Other versions such as Merewald or Merewale, do not have the second element "walh", which would have been the normal term for a Welshman (Gelling, 1992). Figure 11 in Chapter 3 shows the distribution of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the West Midlands and the extent of their diocesan boundaries.

It has been suggested that suggested that Merewalh could have been a native British ruler who had close ties with Penda, the King of the Mercians, either through marriage, or who was given land, or allowed to retain it. This being his "reward" for his alliance (possibly in battle) or allegiance (Petty, 1989). If Merewalh was indeed a native British ruler, then it would lend weight to the argument for continuity of occupation from the end of Roman rule and the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the central marches area from the 8C onwards.

Inscribed Stones and Burials

Most early medieval stone sculpture and inscribed stones in Wales and the western Midlands are associated with early Christian sites, such as churches, monasteries and burial grounds, and their presence can help towards establishing a Christian presence in an area where no other archaeological, architectural or historical records remain. They are typically in the form of grave slabs and markers, cross heads, shafts and bases. Later ones can also be architectural in nature (Bryant, 2012). The language used in the inscriptions, their iconography and design can be used to date them and reveal the wider cultural contacts of these early Christians (Redknap, 2007).

The recent publication of the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture for the Western Midlands (Volume X)*, has catalogued and investigated material from the counties of Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Gloucestershire, whose regions formed an important part of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Mercia. There appears

to be a predominance of sculpture clustered around the (mainly) south side of the Severn and Avon valleys in Gloucestershire, although few have been recorded in Shropshire and Herefordshire, and none close to the study towns. Secure dating can also be a problem. For example, the nearest sculpture finds close to Presteigne are three carved heads discovered at Adforton in Herefordshire (close to Wigmore Abbey and approximately 7 miles from Presteigne). Two are crudely carved and have been classed as Roman, Celtic or later medieval and are therefore undateable. The third is well carved and is possibly a 12C or 13C corbel.

The *Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales (Volume I)* covers south east Wales and the English/Welsh Border, including the old county Radnorshire. There are only five entries for Radnorshire (much less than for the other counties) and none of these are located close to the study towns. The nearest positively identified inscribed stone is at Llandewi Ytsraddenni approximately 12 miles to the east of Knighton, where it is incorporated into a blocked priest's doorway in St David's church in the village. It has been dated to 10C-11C, although its original setting is unknown. The present church dates from 1890 but an earlier church is thought to have existed on the site (CPAT, 2011b).

There is also a lack of confirmed early medieval burials in both south Shropshire, north-west Herefordshire and the old county of Radnorshire, which is often an indicator of an early Christian presence. The closest to the study area are Leominster Priory Church (Here HER 722) which is within 15 miles of Presteigne, and Capel Maelog Llandrindod Wells (CPAT HER 81714) and Cae Henllan Church (CPAT HER 1601), which are within 18 miles of Kington. These examples are all associated with confirmed early ecclesiastical sites.

The lack of inscribed stones and burials in the study area may be attributable to the contested nature of the border here. Both these pieces of evidence may originally have been present but were disturbed during periods of warfare or border raiding between

the Welsh and Anglo-Saxons, or even later between the Welsh and Normans. The building of Offa's Dyke could also have disturbed or obliterated any burial evidence. Likewise, the subsequent development of the towns. Any evidence that did survive, may well have been removed from its original location, like the inscribed stone at Llandewi Ytsraddenni church, further obscuring the overall picture.

4.1.4 Ethnicity in the Study Area

Shropshire's western border, particularly from Clun northwards, appears to be much more ethnically diverse than the western border of Herefordshire, as alluded to in the discussion of the origin of Clun's place-name in Section 3.3.1 and the presence of "Welshmen" in its Domesday entry. Lieberman (2010) suggests that the western border of Shropshire was a "frontier of peoples" (Anglo-Saxon, Welsh and French) at the end of the 11C and that more than 60 Welshman were recorded across a total of 18 manors in Shropshire at the time of the Domesday survey. He does however suggest that their social and legal status was less well defined than their English counterparts and uses the case of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, one of the Welsh Lords of Powys, as an example. Cadwgan had to seek permission from Henry I in 1109 to move to a town he had received from his wife (the daughter of Robert de Say, who held the lordship of Clun), although this might have been done for political reasons.

Lieberman also goes on to say that after Domesday, districts of Welsh and English settlement became more populous, but also more ethnically segregated between Shropshire and Powys, and by 13C, the Border lords had divided their tenants into administrative units which became referred to as "Welshries" and "Englishries". Clun had such a Welshry called the Tempsett (also known as the Tempseter or Tempsiter) by 1292, when it is named in a grant laying out the rights of the "Welchmen of Tempsett", for the right of chase (land used for hunting) and for protection against oppression, for which they paid the sum of £200. Clun Forest and Kingsley Wood near Knighton, were specifically excluded from the grant. The area of the Tempsett is thought to have comprised much of the district lying on the western (or Welsh) side of Offa's Dyke, as

well as several townships lying on its eastern side. The lands lying to the west, being about half of the Honor of Clun (Salt, 1858).

As seen in Chapter 3, the 1293 *Fifteenth* tax returns for Knighton, Norton and Presteigne appeared to show that in Knighton approximately 66% of the taxpayers were Welsh, 53% in Norton and 9% in Presteigne (Faraday, 1973). Using this *Fifteenth* data, and supplanting it with tenant lists for 42 of Wales' 100 or so contemporary towns, Stevens (2012) did a fuller analysis of property holding and ethnicity across the towns. He concluded this was tied to a town's origins, of which he assigned four groups: economic, green field/clearance, military economic origins and superimposed. Presteigne was ascribed to "green field/clearance" with 6% of its tenants being Welsh, while Knighton was "superimposed" with 54% of its tenants Welsh. He did however acknowledge that both Knighton and Presteigne were towns where "origin-classification evidence was particularly Spartan". Stevens' overall conclusion in respect of property holding and ethnicity was that:

"...towns of predominantly economic origin tended to contain a higher proportion of Welsh burgesses than towns of mixed military-economic origin. Nevertheless, the proportion of a town's burgesses which was Welsh was also highly specific to that community, depending on where it was located in relation to both England and other communities, whether the local lord had organised English immigration, and even the topography of the surrounding landscape" (2012:154).

In relation to the study towns this would seem to indicate that the further north they are, the higher the ethnic mix in respect of Welsh and English. This also ties in with the topography of the area. Clun and Knighton are situated on high hilly ground to the north, which becomes more undulating and flatter towards the south, where Presteigne and Kington are located.

As discussed earlier and seen in Chapter 3, the study area had been settled by the Anglo-Saxons for some time prior to the Conquest. Mainly evidenced by settlement place-names and pre-Conquest land holdings. It is also interesting to note that no Welsh names appear as land holders in the Domesday Book prior to the Conquest, thus reinforcing the Anglo-Saxon dominance of the area. This all changed of course following the Conquest when the incoming French Normans were given the manors previously held by the Anglo-Saxons. A few Norman Lords such as Richard fitz Scrob of Richard's Castle, had already been given lands in the region by King Edward prior to the Conquest, but this had little impact compared with the Norman dominance that followed.

4.2 Clun

4.2.1. Routes and Links

At the time of the Domesday survey, Robert de Say or Sai (known as Picot), held the extensive manor of Clun. He also held all but one other manor (Llanfair Waterdine) within a 5 mile radius of Clun. See figure 60 and table 4. The previous landholders were all Anglo-Saxon, Edric the Wild, holding Clun before him. This mixed pattern of previous ownership is similar to that at Knighton and a possible explanation for this is given in Section 4.3.1. The same would appear to apply for Clun.

Modern Name	Previous owner
Bedstone	Wulfric
Clun	Edric the Wild
Clunbury	Swein
Clungunford	Gunnvarth
Clunton	Almund and Wulfric
Coston	Swein
Hopton	Edric the Wild
Kempton	Wulfric
Lurkenhope	Edric the Wild
Menutton	Edric the Wild
Obley	Almund
Purslow	Wulfric
Selley	Ulfkil

Table 4. Previous landholders of Robert de Say's Domesday manors within 5 miles of Clun.

Robert de Say's lordship (the "Honour of Clun") was centred on Clun (the *caput*) and remained with the family until 1155, passing to William fitz Alan of Oswestry on his marriage to Isabella de Say, and remained with the fitz Alans until late 16C. This longevity of manorial holding could have given the de Says an opportunity to organise their manors as a coherent whole, consolidating certain functions and resources within a particular group of manors (along the lines of the great estate model). However, at the time of the Domesday survey, the manor of Clun itself was not managed as a single entity by Robert de Say. Parts of it were listed as being held by Walter (2 hides), another Picot (3 hides) and Gislold (2 hides). In addition, four Welshmen are listed as tenant farmers, who would also have been utilising some of the Clun manor land. Crucially, 2 hides were listed as being held in lordship, so it is feasible that de Say (or his estate managers) may well have administered and consolidated all of his manors from Clun.

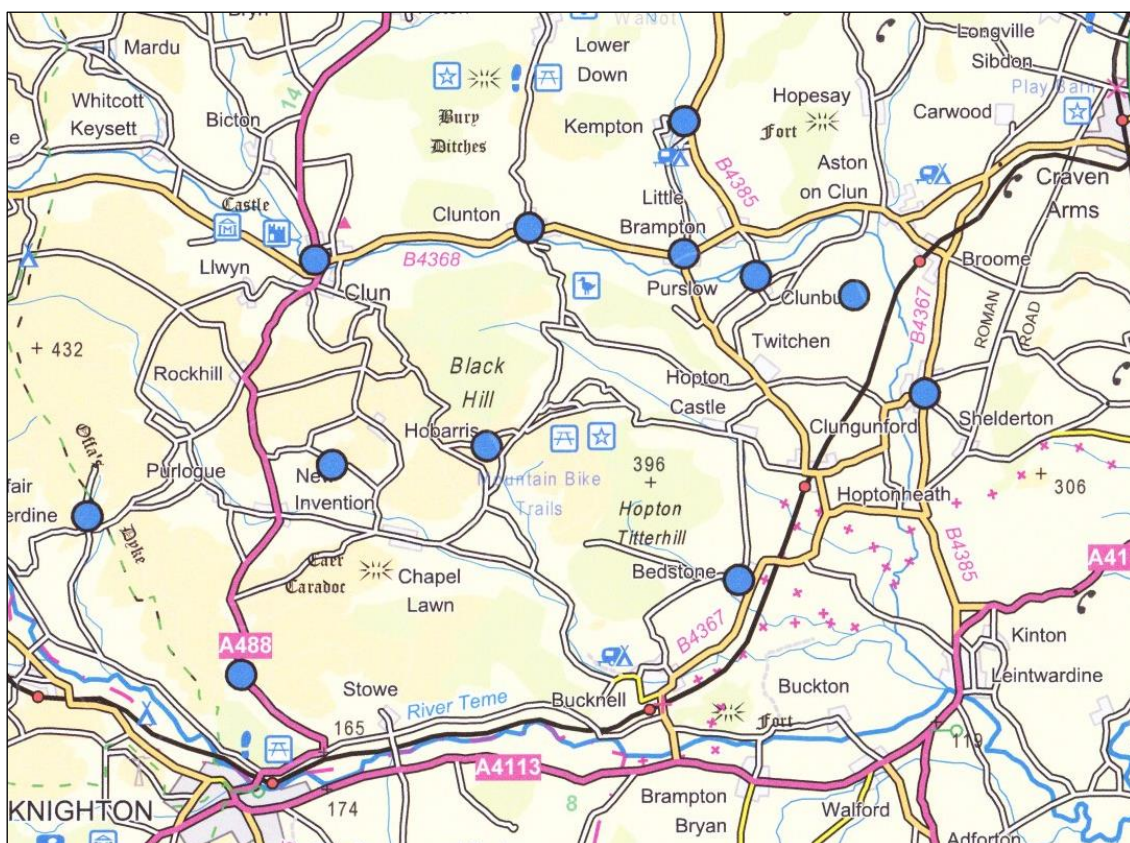


Figure 60. Robert de Say's Domesday Manors within a 5 miles radius of Clun (Digimap, 2016).

Like all of the other towns Clun appears on a modern map as being connected to a network of other routes linking nearby manors or settlements. The “modern” routes we see today (figure 60) perhaps being laid down in the early medieval period (or even earlier) and representing the manors that have survived from that time. In the case of Clun, the east-west route along the river valley, would have represented the best way to get from England to Wales, without having to navigate the hills in between. The north-south route may be later as it would not have been as easily navigable through the hilly and forested terrain.

According to Gelling (1990) the main group of surviving pre-English (Anglo-Saxon) place-names in Shropshire are connected with rivers, hills and settlements. This suggests the east-west route pre-dates the early medieval period, as Clun takes its name from its river, which is thought to be of British origin. The wider area has a high concentration of Bronze Age ring barrows, ditches and Iron Age forts, so it would not seem unreasonable for a settlement to have grown up at this river-crossing location. However, the other de Say manors of Clunton (farmstead on the River Clun), Clungunford (Gunward’s settlement on the River Clun), Clunbury (fortified place on the River Clun) and Aston-on-Clun (ash tree farmstead on the River Clun) to the east, only date to the early medieval period. The Clun part of their names having been prefixed or suffixed later by Old English elements.

It is interesting to note that at the time of the Domesday survey, all of these manors were not previously held by the same individual, since they represent a fairly compact group. Like Knighton, the names appear to be of early habitative origin, and thus represent early Anglo-Saxon settlement, although do not seem to have previously been linked in any way. The name Clunbury is particularly interesting as it implies some form of fortified place. Shropshire HER (00535) suggest it was more likely to indicate an Anglo-Saxon manor in this case, as no traces of surviving Anglo-Saxon earthwork defences have been found in the village.

In summary then, the settlement of Clun would seem to pre-date its existence as an Anglo-Saxon manor. Its British name and the presence of nearby Bronze and Iron Age monuments suggesting a pre-Roman date. The size of the manor at the time of the Domesday survey may also indicate that it had been in existence for some time, and not directly linked to its neighbouring manors during the late Anglo-Saxon period.

4.2.2 Urban Plan Analysis

The settlement of Clun has been divided into four Plan Units (see figure 61), each representing a different phase of development within the town. Like Kington, the town has two historic cores. Here they are situated on either side of the River Clun, linked by Church Street and the river bridge. Unit I is the earliest and is partly conjectural, as the date of the church's foundation is unknown, as is the original area of early medieval settlement which is thought to have been close to it.

Plan Unit	Area Represented
I	The church and possible early medieval settlement
II	The castle and first phase of the planned town
III	Initial extra-mural town development
IV	Final phase of the planned town development

Table 5. Clun medieval town Plan Units designation.

Plan Unit 1 – Church and Early Medieval Settlement

As discussed in Chapter 3, there is evidence for an Anglo-Saxon settlement in Clun, but its location is unknown. The Domesday entry for Clun speaks of “a mill which serves the court” and since any court (held in a manorial building) would pre-date the late 11C/early 12C castle, it is thought this could have been close to the possible Anglo-Saxon church/minister. However, if there is no evidence to support an Anglo-Saxon church on the same site as the present one, then the assumed manorial building could easily have been somewhere else. The mill would have been close to the river, so does this mean it was also close to the court to serve it? Or does it imply that the revenues from the mill serve (support) the court financially?

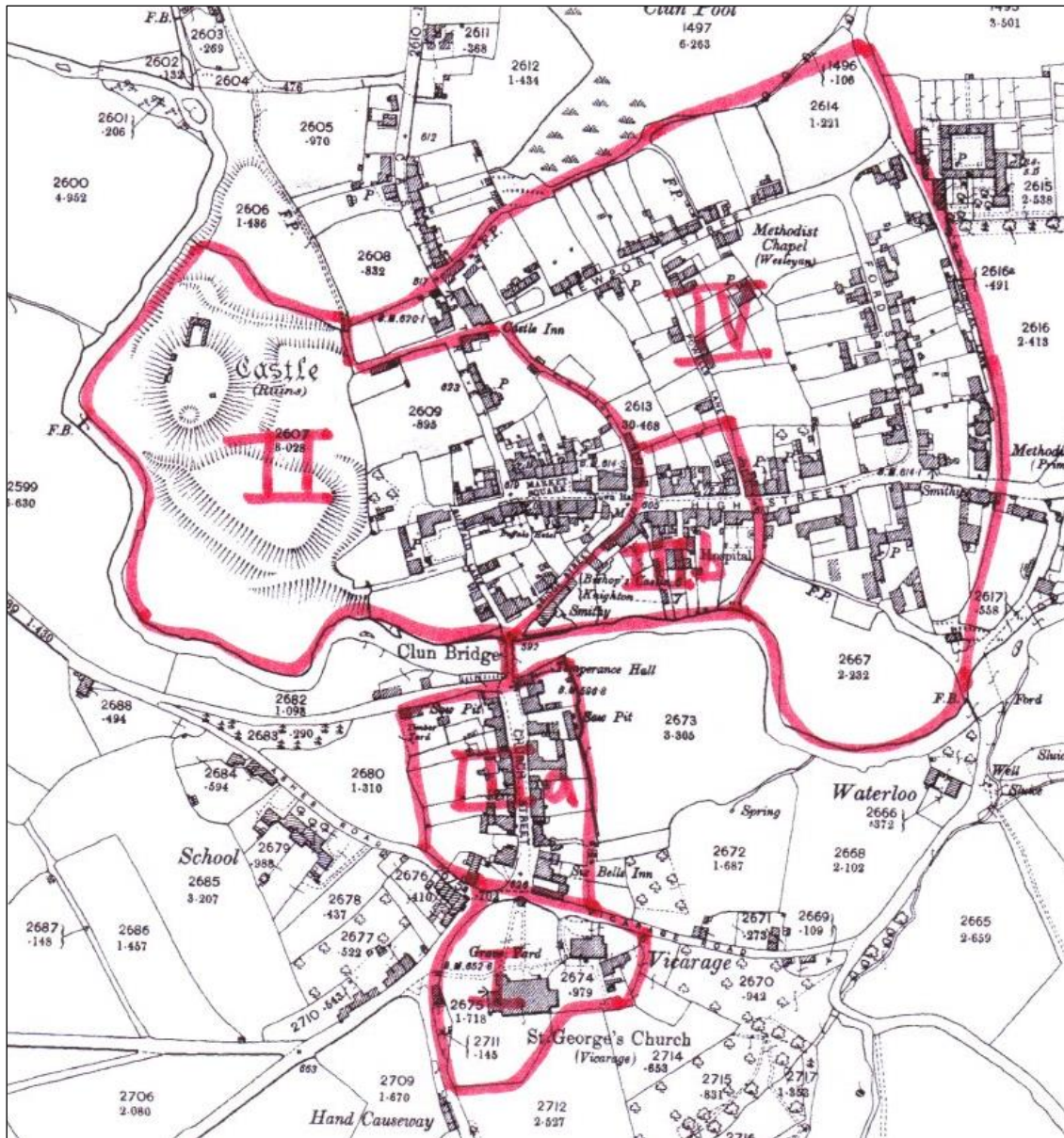


Figure 61. Clun medieval town Plan Units (Digimap, 2016).

In addition to the Domesday entry, several other mills have been referred to in historical documents, the earliest in 1304, which were watermills, although their location is unknown. An area to the north of the castle was also recorded as the 'Site of Walk Mill' on the 1847 tithe map (SHR HER 05439). A corn mill is also shown to the north-east of the town on early OS maps. Could the Domesday mill have been located on any of these known sites? If so, they are all well away from the church and by implication the early medieval manorial building.

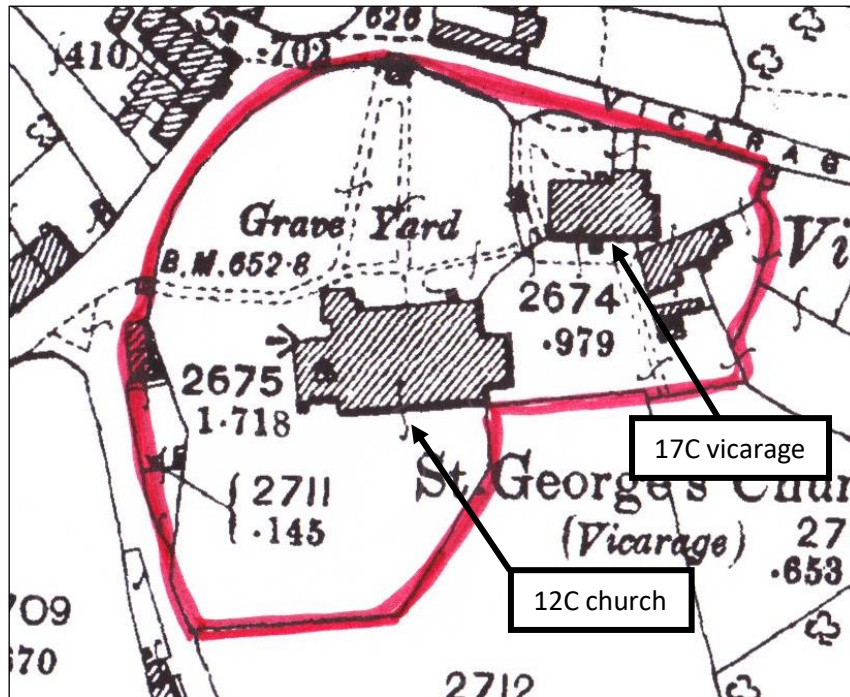


Figure 62. Plan Unit I – Church and possible early medieval settlement (Digimap, 2016).

The earliest building fabric of the church has been dated to 12C, which would imply it was built shortly after the castle, which itself is probably of late 11C/early 12C construction. If so, why would it be built across the river on the other side of town? Possibly because some form of earlier building was already on the site or a fledgling town had already grown up close to the castle, and there was no room for the church within the early defensive circuit (see Plan Unit II discussion). Also, it is known there was a chapel dedicated to St Thomas somewhere in the town as both churches were granted to Wenlock Priory by Isabel de Say, during the reign of Richard I (1189-99) (SHR HER 03088). Foundations of a building have been noted in back gardens between Kid Lane and Powells Lane, just outside the smaller circuit of the proposed town defences. A possible Norman corbel was also found in a back garden in the vicinity of the chapel site in 1982.

A development for Plan Unit I suggests that this area may tentatively have been the site of an early medieval manorial building and church. It is located at the top of a hill overlooking the river below and the surrounding landscape, thus maybe influencing

settlement on the site. The church's detachment from the castle may indicate that it pre-dates the town or that another church was already established there.

Plan Unit II - The Castle and First Phase of the Planned Town

See figure 63. There is a possibility that the pre-Conquest manor of Clun was already situated on the site of the present castle, or close to the shallow river crossing. In many respects it would have been preferable to the church site, having access to the river, as well as good natural defences. The mill could also have been close by. Clun was a large manor so must have been in existence for some time. Like Presteigne, it may have grown up around the intersection of two “through routes”, which linked it to other manors or settlements, as discussed earlier.

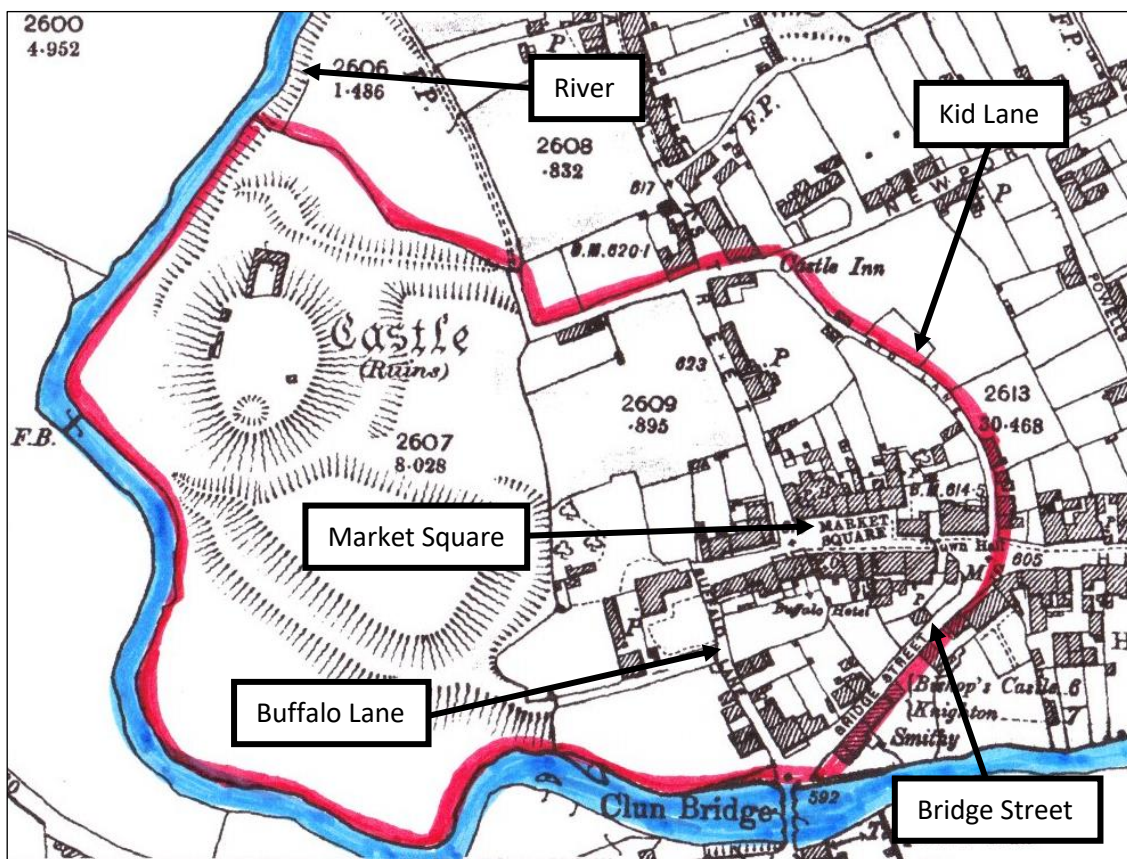


Figure 63. Plan Unit II - The castle and first phase of the planned town (Digimap, 2016).

The town is named after its river, and is thought to be of British origin, perhaps inferring it was established prior to the Anglo-Saxon occupation of the area. The presence of

many Iron Age forts close by and the discovery of a Roman-British spindle whorl (SHR HER 03092), would also seem to favour this. However, there is no archaeological evidence to support an Anglo-Saxon occupation of this site.

Like all the case study town castles, a definitive date for first construction is not possible, although a date of between 1090 and 1110 seems reasonable here. It is located on high ground above the river, which forms its western and southern borders, and would have overseen both the north-south and east-west routes through the town. At this time it was most probably no more than a timber motte and bailey. If the argument for an earlier manor on the same site is acceptable, then any housing or ancillary buildings would have been cleared for the new castle, which may explain the lack of any early medieval material.

Following the construction of the castle, the first development phase of the town took place with the laying out of burgage plots and a market area directly to the east of the castle, and possibly the south, along Buffalo Lane. This occurring by mid 11C. Soon afterwards and for whatever reason (most probably Welsh raids), a small circuit of defences was put in place which ran along the west end of Newport Street, Kidd Lane and Bridge Street (see figure 21 Chapter 3), linking with the original bailey of the castle and in effect extending it. The town prospered during this period and soon outgrew its defences by late 12C, which led to further expansion outside of this area as discussed in Plan Unit III.

The developmental sequence for Plan Unit II would suggest that the pre-Conquest manor of Clun may already have existed close to the Clun Bridge or on the elevated ground above it. This was cleared and a motte and bailey castle constructed on the elevated ground between 1090-1110, utilising the natural topography of the site for defence. Burgage plots and a market place were laid out to the east of the castle by mid 12C and shortly afterwards a small circuit of defences was put in place, which effectively

formed a large outer bailey of the castle. The town continued to thrive until it outgrew its defences and expanded beyond them towards the end of 12C.

Plan Unit III - Initial Extra-Mural Town Development

This Plan Unit represents an extra-mural development of the original planned town (Plan Unit II), which occurred before its later expansion within the outer defensive circuit (Plan Unit IV). It has been divided into two sub-units, each representing a separate area of initial expansion but both dating to the same period. See figure 64.

Sub-Unit IIIa – The Church Street Expansion

It is possible that some pre-Conquest settlement may have taken place along this route if the church and manorial hall location are accepted as being at the top of Church Street. Some form of settlement thus growing up close to these two important buildings. However, there is currently no evidence to support this theory.

The buildings to either side of Church Street appear to have been laid out in a regular plot pattern, with generous widths fronting the street, indicating space was not an issue. Most of the properties along here are double-fronted, especially those closest to the church, echoing these original plot boundaries. Several properties are gable-end on to the street at the lower end of Church Street close to the bridge. This arrangement often happens when space is limited, but at Nos 1, 3, 5, and 7, the gables are the wings a 15C timber-framed hall-house, later divided into individual properties. Shropshire HER dates the plots to either side of the street as medieval/post-medieval.

Sub-Unit IIIb – The Western High Street expansion

Like sub-unit IIIa, the plot widths here are quite generous, which contrasts with those in the adjacent Market Square, which are much narrower. This area was probably laid out when the one to the east (Plan Unit II) was unable to easily accommodate any further plots. It would have represented a desirable area to live and trade in given its close proximity to the market. Two early buildings are located here. One is a 15C timber-

framed former out-building with three cruck-trusses, now part of the Sun Inn. The other is on the opposite side of the street at Nos 17-19 and is a timber-framed house of cruck construction. There has been speculation that it could be 12C, but the HER lists it as mainly 13/14C. The plots on this side of the street are slightly longer, running down to the river at the rear are steeply sloping, but still of a generous width.

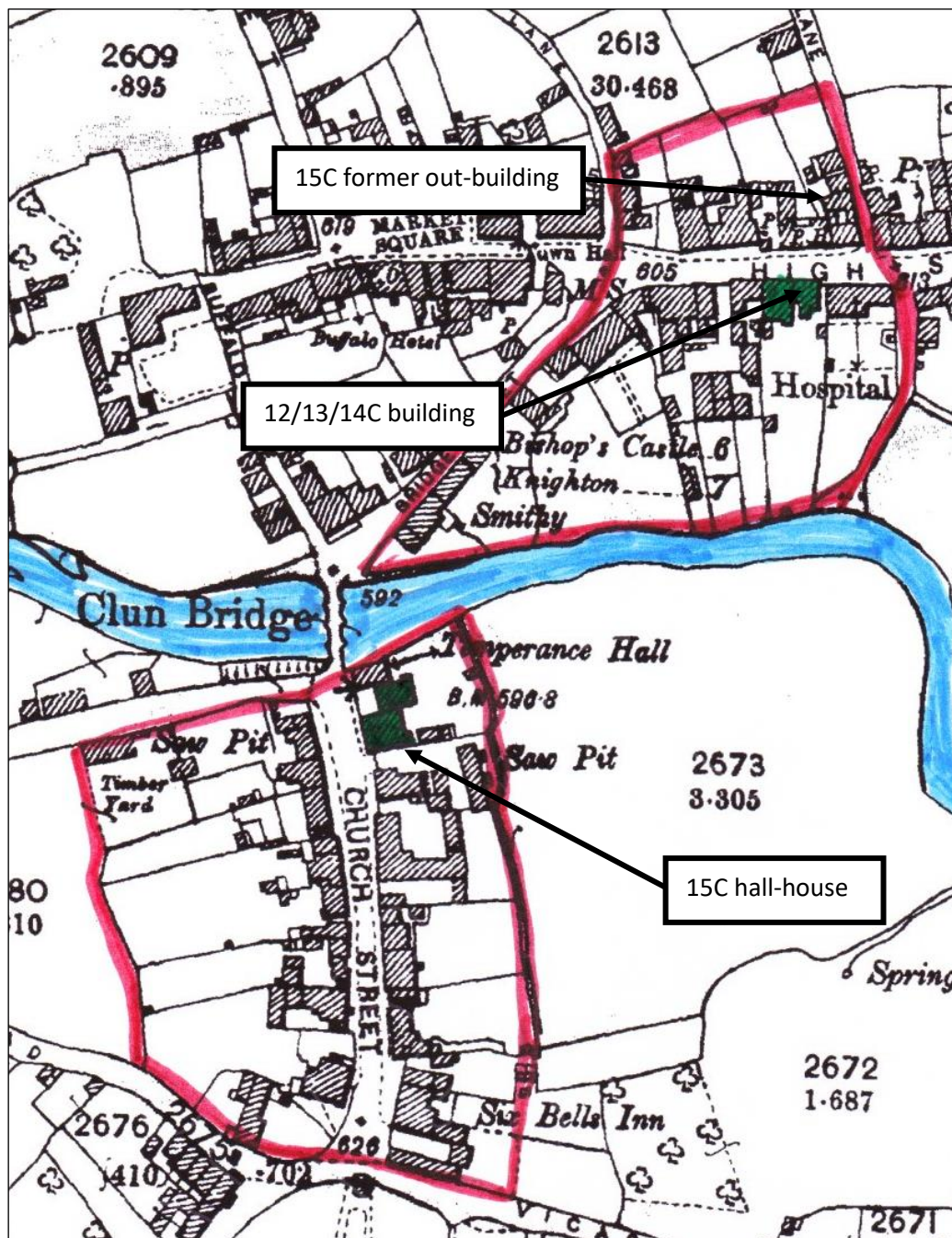


Figure 64. Plan Unit III - Initial Extra-Mural Town Development (Digimap, 2016).

The development of Plan Unit III probably occurred after the initial town development within the extended castle bailey (Plan Unit II) was unable to accommodate any more plots. The new plots are quite wide, and able to accommodate substantial premises, as evidenced by the three medieval buildings highlighted earlier. This new extension occurring late 12C/early 13C, perhaps around the time the town was granted the right to hold a three day fair in 1204. This event indicating the town was well developed enough to attract traders at that time, and possibly triggering further expansion, which was later enclosed within a larger defensive circuit (see Plan Unit IV discussion).

Plan Unit IV - Final Phase of the Planned Town Development

The town must have been thriving to continue its expansion beyond the initial defensive circuit (Plan Unit II). The presence of coherent plot boundaries immediately outside of this area to the east and south, indicating they were planned and did not happen in a haphazard fashion (Plan Unit III). Demand was still high, as further plots were again laid out within a newly enlarged defensive circuit, this time creating three new streets; Newport Street, Powells Lane and Ford Street (originally called Frog Street). See figure 65.

The new plots could have been laid out without the presence of a defensive circuit as was the case at Presteigne and Kington, if they were being created for entirely economic reasons, and there was little threat of the towns being attacked. Here, the threat of attack from the Welsh must have been higher, although not high enough to warrant a town wall, as the defences at Clun appear to have been in the form of a defensive ditch (and presumably bank).

At the same time as the town and its defences were expanding, so was the castle. As we saw in Chapter 3, it was described in 1272 as being “small but competently built” with a tower, bridge, outer bailey with ditch, a gate set in a stretch of wall and a range of ancillary buildings (grange, stable and bakehouse in a decaying state). The same document apparently recording 183 burgages. Shortly after this a murage grant was

applied for in 1277, which may have signalled the start of the outer defensive circuit construction.

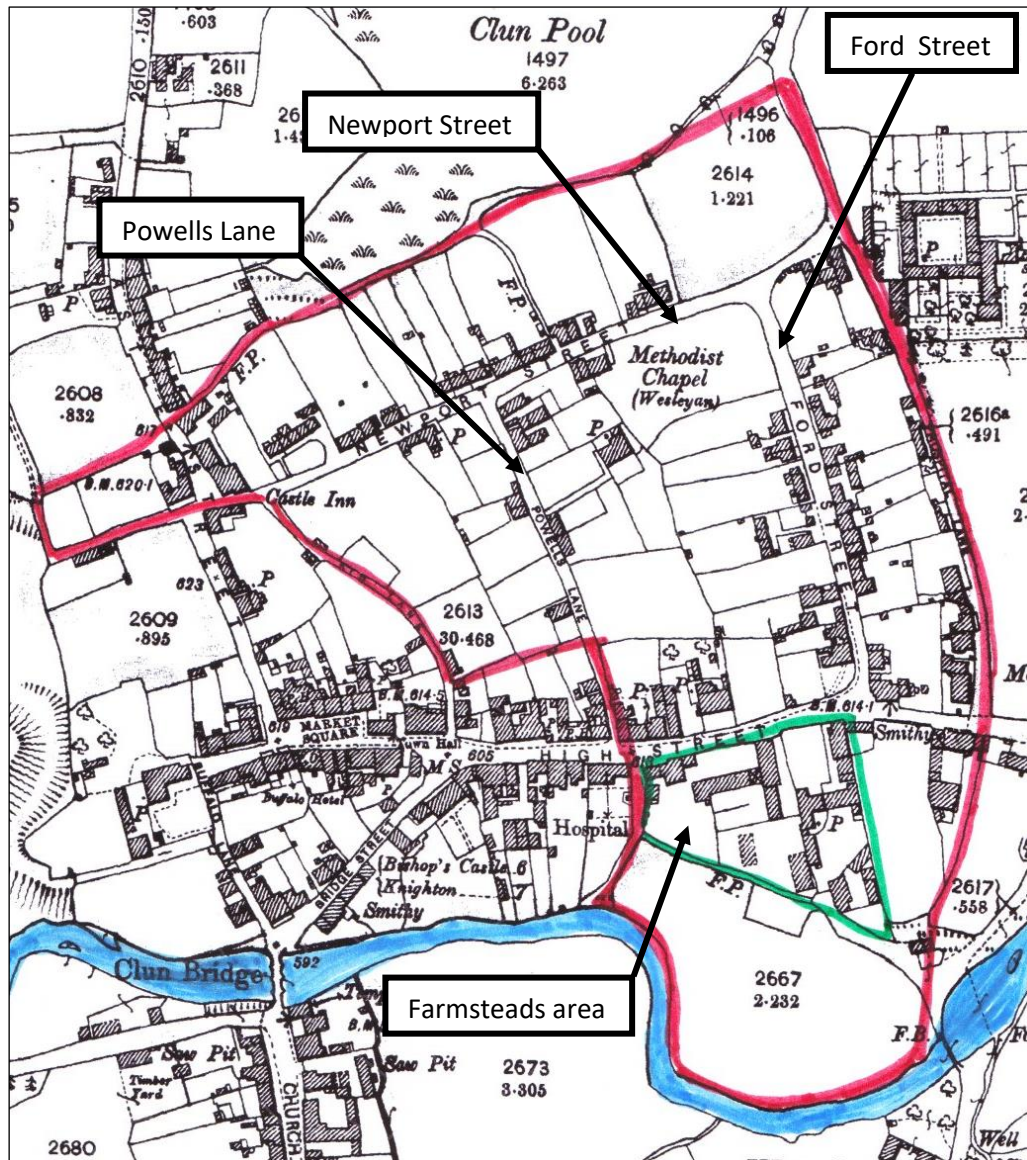


Figure 65. Plan Unit IV - Final Phase of the Planned Town Development (Digimap, 2016).

It is not known whether this circuit was completed before the new plots were laid out or at the same time or even afterwards. Again, the plots are wide and generous, and many of the surviving 17C buildings in Clun are found here. A small area to the south of High Street has a high density of 17C farmsteads, as recorded in the *Shropshire Historic Farmstead Characterisation Project* (Historic England, 2010) which listed historic farmsteads, outfarms, field barns and small holdings across the region. Those in Clun are

reminiscent of small holdings by modern standards, occupying a large plot which would have been worked to support a single family.

This area is also located close to a ford on the river, an ideal position for any form of farming activity, and to the edge of the town, giving easy access to the town fields. Whether the buildings themselves were here during the medieval period is unknown, but their location within the defences would suggest that the “town planners” intended for them to be occupied during this time.

Plan Unit IV represents the final phase of planned town development during the medieval period. Like Plan Unit III, some of the plots may already have been laid out before the extension of the outer defences. A likely place would have been along the eastern end of High Street and the “farmstead area” to its south. Soon afterwards or simultaneously, the outer defences were constructed (at least by the end of 13C), along with the new roads of Newport Street, Powells Lane and Ford Street, with wide burgage plots distributed amongst them.

Town Development Summary

A settlement at Clun would seem to pre-date its existence as an Anglo-Saxon manor as discussed earlier. The only town to have a possible British origin. The size of the manor at the time of the Domesday survey may indicate that it had been in existence for some time, although no discernible trace remains. The manor location may have been at the top of Church Street next to an earlier church on the same site, although an alternate location near Clun Bridge or on the elevated ground above it, would seem more likely.

A motte and bailey castle was constructed between 1090-1110, utilising the natural topography of the elevated area above the river-crossing, possibly also clearing away an earlier settlement on the site. Burgage plots and a market place were laid out to the east of the castle by mid 12C and shortly afterwards a small circuit of defences was put in place, effectively forming a large outer bailey of the castle and encompassing the town.

The town continued to grow and more plots were laid out late 12C/early 13C beyond the defences along High Street and Church Street. Soon afterwards or simultaneously, new larger outer defences were constructed (at least by the end of 13C), along with the new roads of Newport Street, Powells Lane and Ford Street.

4.3 Knighton

4.3.1. Routes and Links

Knighton and Norton were listed in the Domesday Book as being held by Hugh Donkey and before that Leoffled, an Anglo-Saxon women. Leoffled also held another 12 manors in Herefordshire at the time of the Domesday survey. Most of these were to the east of Leominster and Hereford, with another two to the south near Peterchurch. The distance between the other manors and Knighton and Norton is approximately 20 miles, which would suggest they were not part of a larger estate during the pre-Conquest period. Of course, Leoffled may have held more lands in the area (her husband Thorkil White held 3 manors close to Presteigne and Kington), which were not recorded at the time of the survey and no surviving records exist to confirm or deny this.

A map of the nearest Domesday manors (figure 66) to Knighton shows the area was well served with farmsteads or settlements prior to the Conquest. Today, most are situated on existing tracks and roads as can be seen below. These may well have been in existence at the time of Domesday, albeit a lot less developed. The fact that these settlements still exist today is probably due to the later development of this early network of routes.

Most of the manors above were not held by the same person at the time of the Domesday survey, Richard fitz Osbern being the exception. See table 6. This would further suggest that Knighton and Norton were not part of a larger estate due to the very mixed ownership of Anglo-Saxon landholders prior to the Conquest. This would also imply that the surrounding manors were either never part of a larger estate, or it had

become fragmented or deliberately broken up (perhaps due to inheritance) by the mid 11C.

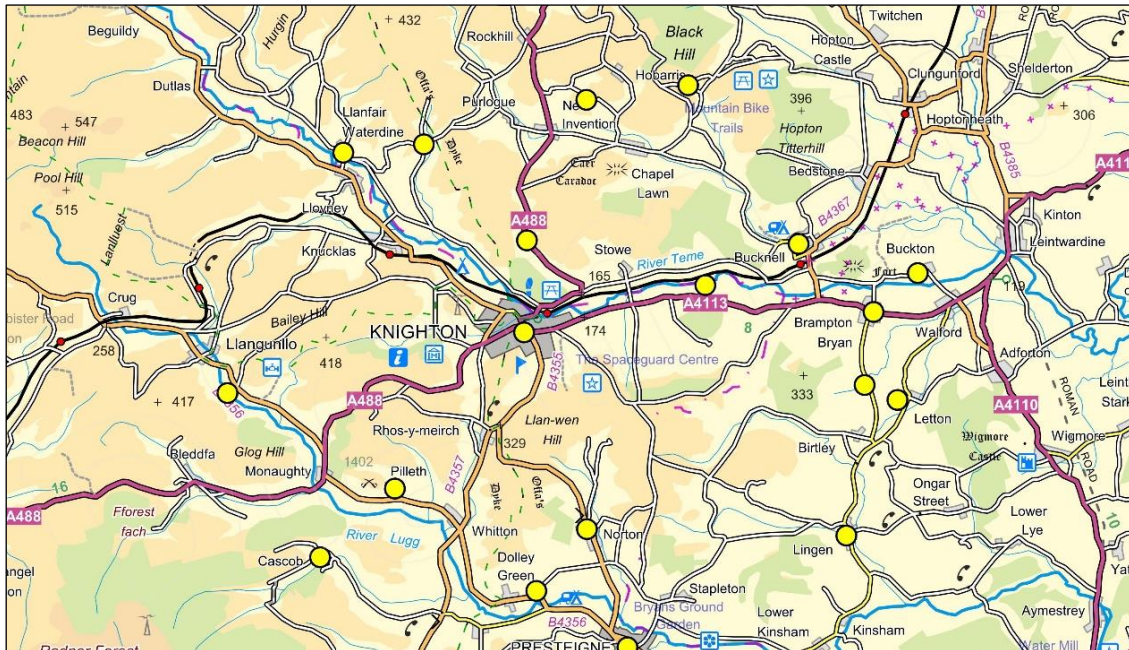


Figure 66. Manors close to Knighton at the time of the Domesday survey (Digimap, 2016).

Modern Name	Meaning	Derivation	Previous owner
Ackhill	Oak tree hill	OE <i>ac</i> and <i>hyll</i> ,	Edric (the Wild)
Bucknell	Bucca's hill	OE <i>Bucca</i> and <i>hyll</i>	Alwy
Buckton	Bucca's farm	OE <i>Bucca</i> and <i>tun</i>	Saxi
Brampton (Bryan)	Broom settlement	OE <i>brom</i> and <i>tun</i>	Gunnvarth
Discoed	Cottage/hut by the dyke	OE <i>dic</i> and <i>cot(e)</i>	Osbern fitz Richard
Cascob	Casca's remote enclosed valley	OE <i>Casca</i> and <i>hop</i>	Osbern fitz Richard
Heyop	High valley	OE <i>heah</i> and <i>hop</i>	
Knighton	Farm/settlement of the servants	OE <i>cniht/cnihta</i> and <i>tun</i>	Leoffled
Letton	Herb garden/leek enclosure	OE <i>leactun</i>	Siward (the fat)
Lingen	Clearing	OE <i>leah</i>	Edric (the Wild)
Llanfair Waterdine	Church of St Mary in the water valley	W <i>Llanfair</i> , OE <i>waeter</i> and <i>denu</i>	Edwy
Lurkenhope	?		Edric (the Wild)
Menutton	?		Edric (the Wild)
Norton	North farmstead/	OE <i>nord</i> and <i>tun</i>	Leoffled

Modern Name	Meaning	Derivation	Previous owner
	settlement		
Obley	Ob(b)a's wood/clearing	OE <i>Ob(b)a</i> and <i>leah</i>	Almund
Pedwardine	Peoda's settlement	OE <i>Peoda</i> and <i>worthign</i>	Erngeat
Pilleth	Pool slope	OE <i>pul/pyll</i> and <i>hlid</i>	"5 thanes"
Presteigne	Priest's border meadow	OE <i>preost</i> and <i>hemm-maed</i>	Osbern fitz Richard
Selley	?	?	Ulfkil
Stanage	Stone edge/scarp	OE <i>stan</i> and <i>ecg</i>	Osbern fitz Richard
Weston (upper and lower)	West farmstead/settlement	OE <i>west</i> and <i>tun</i>	"5 thanes"

Table 6. Previous landholders of Domesday manors close to Knighton. Place name derivations from: Gelling, 1992; Morgan, 1998; Gelling and Cole, 2000; Owen and Morgan, 2008.

Most of the names in table 5 derive from topographical features or personal names, apart from Knighton, Norton, Weston and Presteigne. However, Presteigne is the Domesday manor of *Humet*, which contains the element *maed* (meadow) which describes a topographical feature (see Chapter 3 for a full derivation of Presteigne's name). Knighton, as discussed in Chapter 3, belongs to a group of names that apply to a relatively late stage of Anglo-Saxon manorial arrangements (Gelling, 1978). Norton and Weston refer to north and west farms or farmsteads, but of which manor? Norton possibly refers to the north farm of Presteigne but Weston is closer to Knighton than Presteigne, so perhaps this refers to the west farm of Knighton.

The presence of so many names of topographical origin indicates long term settlement in the area, but not necessarily manors that were part of a larger or multiple estate. In the latter case, you would expect to see more functional names derived from the product or services offered by each manor within the multiple state (Aston, 1985; Aston and Gerrard, 2013). Ackhill, Brampton (Bryan) and Letton could conceivably have been part of a large estate offering oak, broom and herbs, although the presence of the personal names, Bucca (2 manors), Casca, Obba and Peoda, points towards individual farmsteads.

4.3.2 Urban Plan Analysis

Knighton is almost completely surrounded by high hilly ground on all sides, which has meant routes in and out of the town have to follow the Teme River valley or wind their way around the lower lying land between the hills. Even today, there is no direct route north from the town centre across the Teme, through Kinsley wood and on to Clun. The modern A488 from Knighton to Clun, crosses the river to the east of the town, performing a “switch back” around Kinsley wood, before continuing north to Clun. Figure 67 shows a contour map of the surrounding area.

It is no surprise then that the medieval town of Knighton has been laid out on a steeply sloping site, reflecting the town’s underlying topography. The castle is located at the highest point in the town, which makes it a readily defensible site, having a substantial section of Offa’s Dyke to the west, the River Teme to the north and the Wylcwm Brook to the south. The rest of the town spreads out from this focal point. Figure 68 gives an idea of the height range across the historic core.

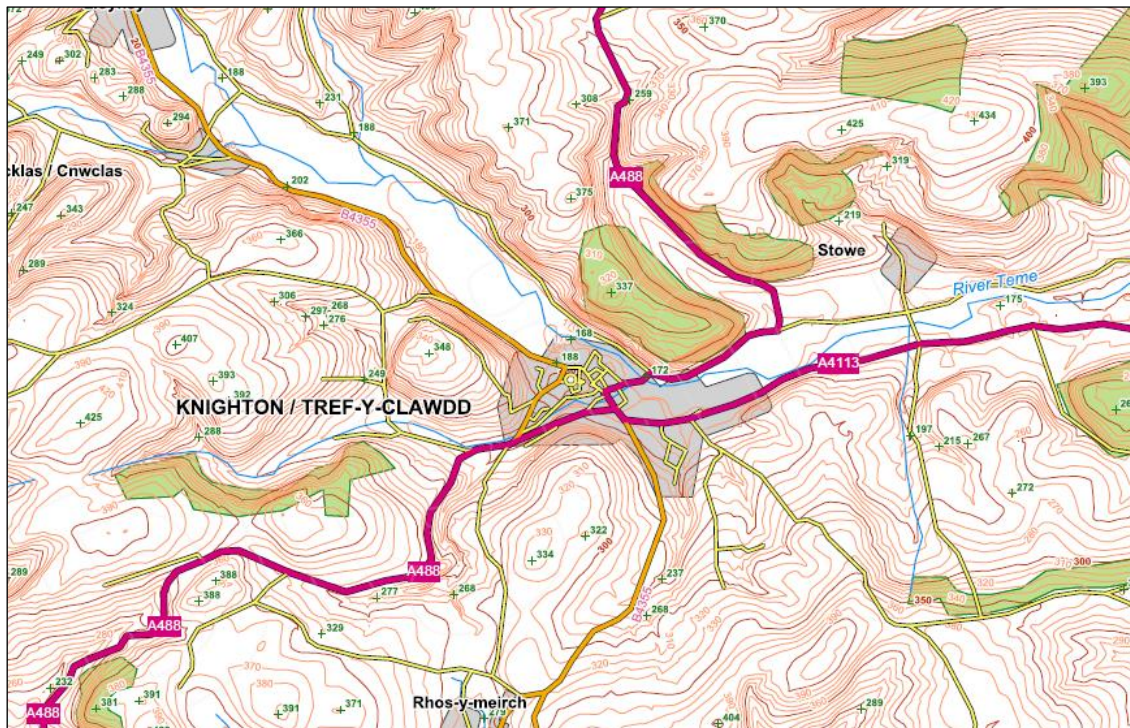


Figure 67. The natural topography of Knighton and its main routes through the town (Digimpa, 2016).

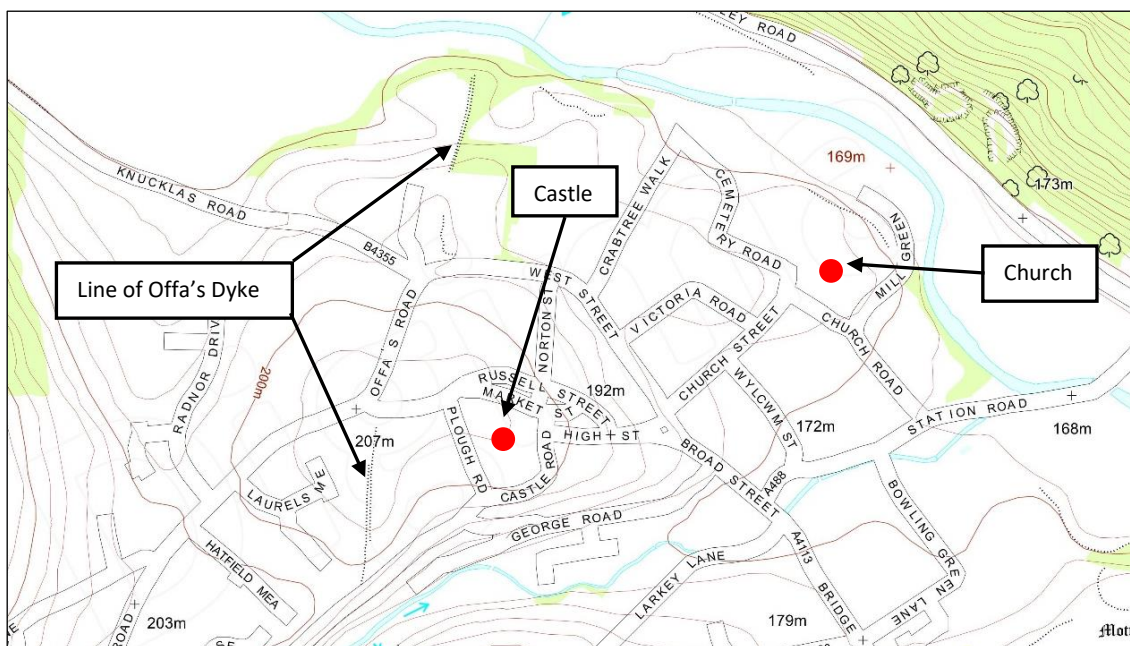


Figure 68. The historic core of Knighton showing the height range across the streets (Digimap, 2016).

Figure 69 represents the historic medieval core of Knighton. It has been divided up into Plan Units each representing a different phase of development within the town. The form of each Plan Unit will be discussed in conjunction with the evidence from Chapter 3, in order to propose a developmental sequence for that Unit. A final summary at the end of this section will propose an overall timeline for the development of the town.

Plan Unit	Area Represented
I	The medieval core of the town (Castle, Market Street, Russell Street, High Street and Broad Street)
II	The church precinct
III	Later town expansion
IV	Later 18/19C infill
V	Bridge Street area

Table 7. Knighton medieval town Plan Units designation.

Plan Unit I – The Medieval Core

The historic medieval core of the town comprises the castle and its small bailey, Market Street, Russell Street, High Street and Broad Street (see figure 70). However, it is known that there was a late Anglo-Saxon settlement here prior to the construction of the castle,

as Knighton appears in the Domesday Book as the manor of *Chenistetune*, although there is no evidence to suggest where it might have been located. There has even been a tentative suggestion that some form of settlement might also have existed at the west end of Market Street in the mid to late 8C, due to its proximity to a possible crossing point of Offa's Dyke. Again, there is no evidence to support this, although the Domesday manor of Weston could have been reached by travelling west from here.

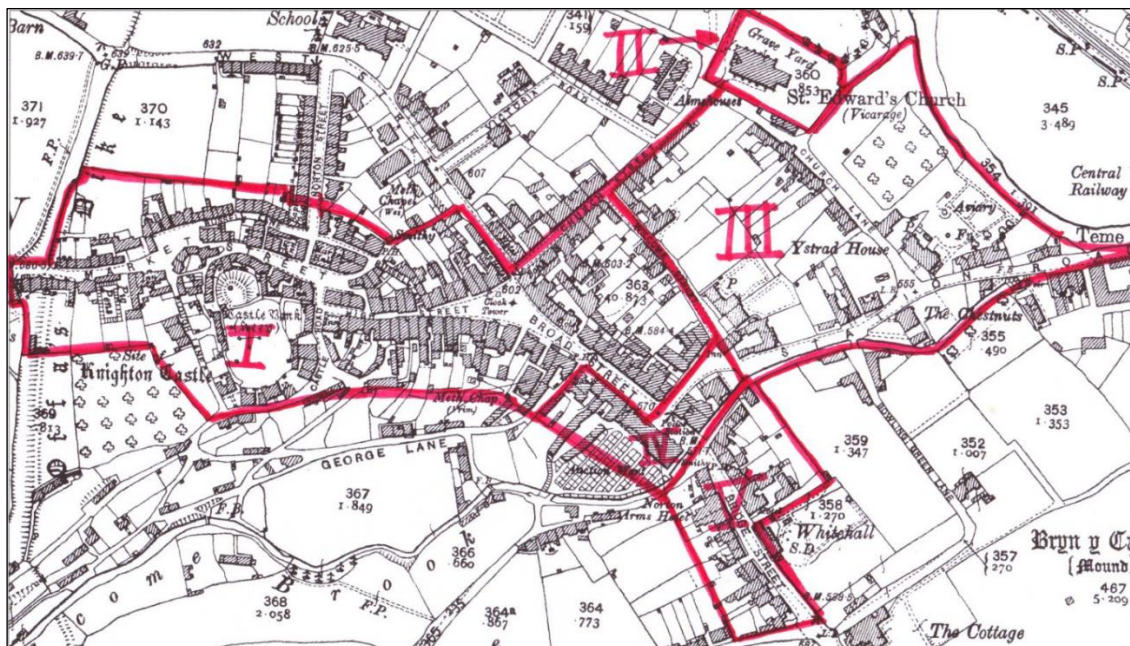


Figure 69. Knighton medieval town Plan Units (Digimap, 2016).

There is no firm date either for the construction of the castle, although a range from late 11C to mid 12C would seem reasonable since it was first referenced in a pipe roll of 1181. It survives today as a motte with small bailey to the south, which may not have been its original form. It could have had a larger or outer bailey in addition to the surviving one. The narrow Plough Road and Castle Road to its west and east may have been part of a larger bailey, which was later built upon when the castle fell out of use. Alternately, they may have originated as footpaths or lanes around the castle site. Likewise, Russell Lane (now modern Russell Street), could have followed the line of a still wider bailey circuit or even town defences (see figure 29 Chapter 3). The curving nature of these streets reflects the topography of the site ie. the steepness of castle hill at this point leaving no option but for routes to curve around its sides. This is what may

have led to speculation that Russell Lane, Castle Road and Plough Road are following the curve of an earlier defence circuit, whereas in fact they could merely be routes encircling the hill. This does not explain the two murage grants in 1260 and 1270 though.

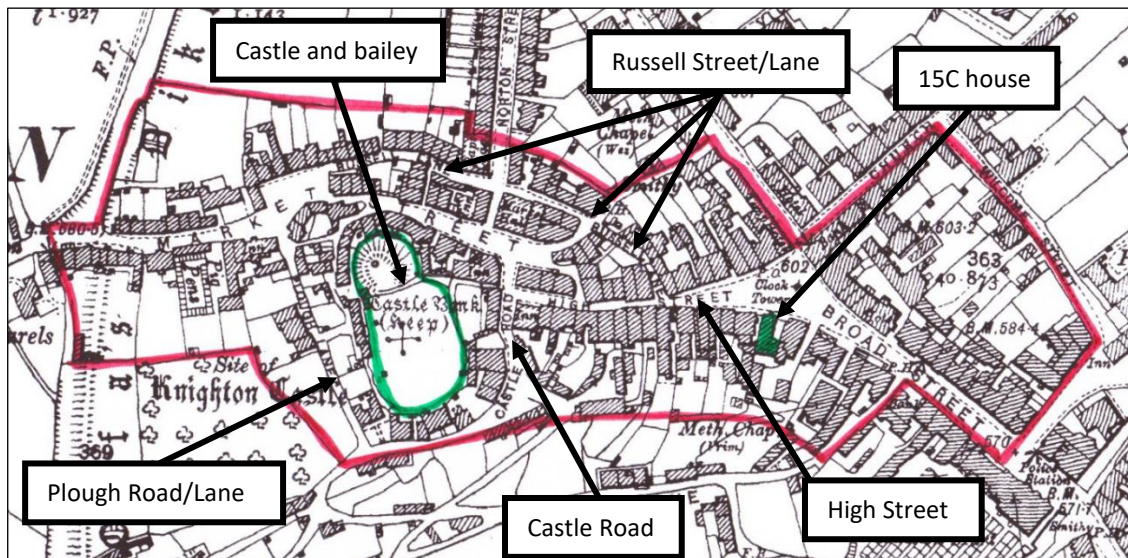


Figure 70. Plan Unit I - medieval core of Knighton (Digimap, 2016).

It is known that Knighton was granted a market charter in 1230, which would indicate it must have been well established and prosperous enough to warrant a market by this time. Market Street itself was originally a wide open space in front of the castle, most probably with trading/residential premises along its northern perimeter. This is now Russell Street, which was effectively created by the later infill buildings in the Market Place. The earliest houses in in Market Street have been dated to 17/18C and these are mainly located close to the junction with Offa's Dyke Road to the west. Several market halls (now all demolished) have stood at the east end of Russell Street. Nos 1 and 2, also at the east end of Russell Street, date from the 17C.

More opportunistic infill also seems to have occurred after the castle and bailey ceased to be used, as the perimeter is now completely encircled by later buildings. Only two of these buildings has been dated to 18C (White House and Mandarin House in Castle Road) and another two facing the old market place (late 18/19C), which seems to confirm their later establishment as infill. However, Knighton has not had a

comprehensive survey of the surviving historic fabric of its buildings like the RCAHMW survey in Presteigne. Dating information comes from assessments for listing and HER entries, which are usually as a result of a request for an archaeological watching brief or assessment as a condition of planning permission, and not a wider survey.

Modern Norton Street which runs north from the castle is a much later development (19C) although the name is suggestive of a “north farm or farmstead”. However, there is no evidence of a north farm between the castle and the Teme, or across it on its north side.

High Street and Broad Street were probably laid out not long after the castle was established, possibly around the time the market charter was granted, as presumably the lord and burgesses were keen to attract trade. Knighton’s borough status was confirmed by 1361 at the very latest but it may well have been operating as one before that. The individual building plots along the south side of upper Broad Street (ie. north of the junction with George Street), both sides of High Street and the whole of the northern side of Broad Street, all appear to be of the same form, which would indicate they were all laid out in a relatively short space of time.

Taxation records in 1293 indicate 71 taxpayers, which does not necessarily imply these were the total number of inhabitants as only those who had “moveable wealth” were taxed, less “well off” citizens would not have been recorded. By 1304, 162^{1/3} burgesses were recorded, indicating a thriving town. Also emphasising the proposition that the High Street/Broad Street area was laid out in a short space of time, as building plots (burgages) would have been needed to accommodate the town’s dramatic growth within those 10 years.

The upper part of High Street, close to the castle, is called “The Narrows” because the original width of the street has been encroached upon by the buildings on either side, now making it little more than a lane at this point. The oldest house in Knighton,

appropriately called “The Old House”, is situated in this area opposite the Clock Tower. It is a 15C hall house, parallel to the street and was enlarged in the 17C. 17C houses also exist at Nos. 6, 19-22 and 23 High Street and Nos. 20-21 and 22-25 Broad Street plus the George & Dragon and Swan Hotel. Although these later examples are of post-medieval date, they probably replaced earlier ones on the same plots, indicating the longevity of the building plot basic form and the popularity of High Street and Broad Street, as trading premises.

The development of Plan Unit I therefore suggests that the erection of the castle in late 11C to mid 12C, “seeded” the town of Knighton and soon after burgages were laid out in High Street and Broad Street, with a wide market area to the north of the castle. This occurring around 1230 with a concentrated building phase late 13C/early 14C. The town may have had defences by 1260 which could have run along Russell Street, Castle Road and Plough Road, possibly encircling the market place if the Russell Street circuit is accepted. Market Street was later encroached upon and Russell Street created as a consequence. The construction of a series of market halls followed, possibly complimentary to the market place or as a consequence of the encroachment. When the castle fell out of use, buildings were constructed along its perimeter, this happening as early as 18C. Most of the buildings in the centre of the market place were demolished in 20C and the final market hall in the 1980s.

Plan Unit II – The Church Precinct

The first documentary reference to the Church of Edward the Confessor is in 1284, which would post-date the castle by approximately 100 years, and there is no original building fabric remaining from this period. It was a chapelry of the nearby church of St Michael and All Angles at Stowe during the medieval period, which itself only dates from 13C. The name *stow* could imply an early medieval origin, and it is sits within a circular churchyard, hinting at a British rather than Anglo-Saxon foundation. The lack of evidence for an early church at Knighton might be due to any pre-Conquest settlement being served by Stowe, although anyone attending services would have needed to find a

suitable crossing point over the Teme further to the east. This in turn might point towards the earlier settlement being sited away from the present motte and bailey castle.

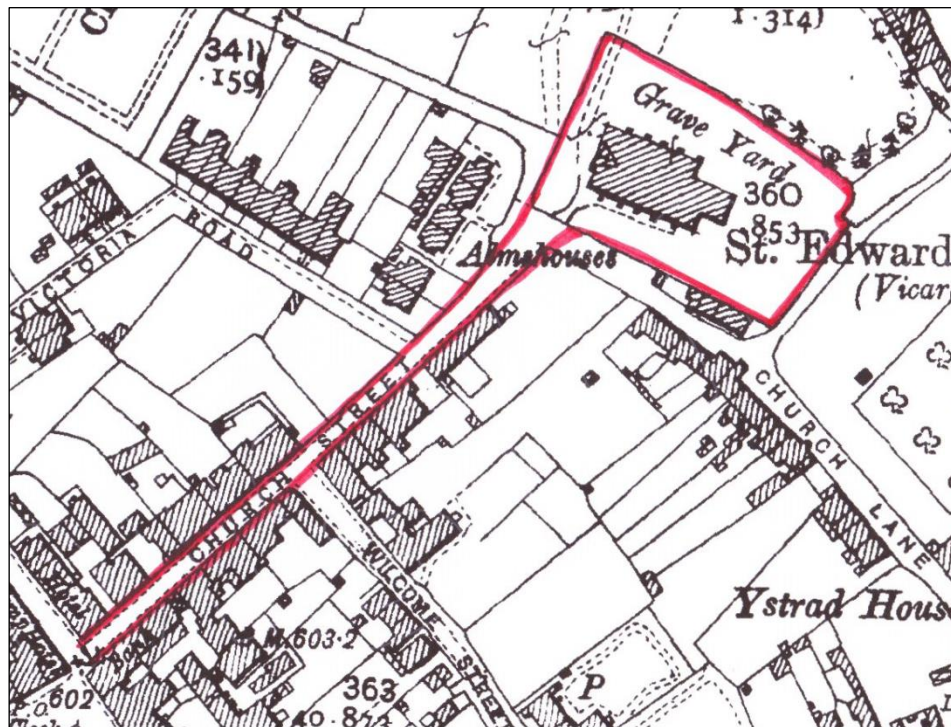


Figure 71. Plan Unit II – church precinct (Digimap, 2016).

The church grounds are well defined on the early OS map with no reason to suppose they may have been larger at an earlier date (perhaps taking in the open area to the south-east). See figure 71. A new churchyard was made to the west of the church during the 20C. The church and castle are not close. This may be due to the early town (Plan Unit I) being laid out before the church was built. The church was then fitted in to the existing town plan, possibly deliberately built on the flatter ground close to the Teme, rather than on the sloping ground at the bottom of High Street or lower down on what later became upper Church Street. Church Street itself only becomes relatively level at its north-eastern end, close to the church. However, there is no reason why it could not have been imposed upon the generous and level area of the market place, unless of course this area was considered too profitable to be lost.

There is one last possibility. The church referred to in 1284 may not be the Church of Edward the Confessor that exists today. It may have referred to an earlier church somewhere else within the town, possibly a more modest earlier structure with a different dedication. A new church was then built on the present site, perhaps because the original site was not capable of being further developed to accommodate a grander church in the Norman style. As the market place, High Street and Broad Street were already well developed themselves, the only place to build was outside of this area. The earliest existing building fabric is found in the tower which dates to 14C which would argue in favour of a “new build”. However, this opinion is not shared by some local historians (eg. Gregory, 1994), who believe the present church occupies the original site where the first church in Knighton stood (between 1042-1050) and was the centre of the Saxon settlement by the Teme.

The development of Plan Unit II would suggest that the church was built after the main part of the town was already well established and had to be fitted in outside of this area (Plan Unit I). A decision was also made to site it on level ground, rather than build on “vacant” sloping ground at the lower end of High Street. Church Street was created as a route from the main town to the church, although it may have originally been little more than a lane at this time. It was subsequently developed in the 18C and 19C.

Plan Unit III – Later Expansion

There has been some debate about whether this area represents a later planned medieval extension to the historic core of the town (Plan Unit I). The creation of Victoria Road, Wylcwn Street, Church Street, Station Road and Bowling Green Lane are seen by some as a regular gridded area indicative of a Norman plantation (Woodfield, 1973 and Beresford, 1988). However, due to the relatively low building density in the area as indicated on early OS maps and the age of those buildings that have been dated, this seems unlikely. Victoria Road and Bowling Green Lane have not been included in this Plan Unit, as they are deemed not to be part of the later expansion of the historic core. Victoria Road as the name implies was established in the 19C and Bowling Green Lane is

probably of the same date. It leads to a bowling green on the edge of town. Early OS maps show very few buildings along its length, although a few clustered around its junction with Station Road date from late 17C/early 18C. It may have been part of an early route from the town to the undated Bryn y Castell.

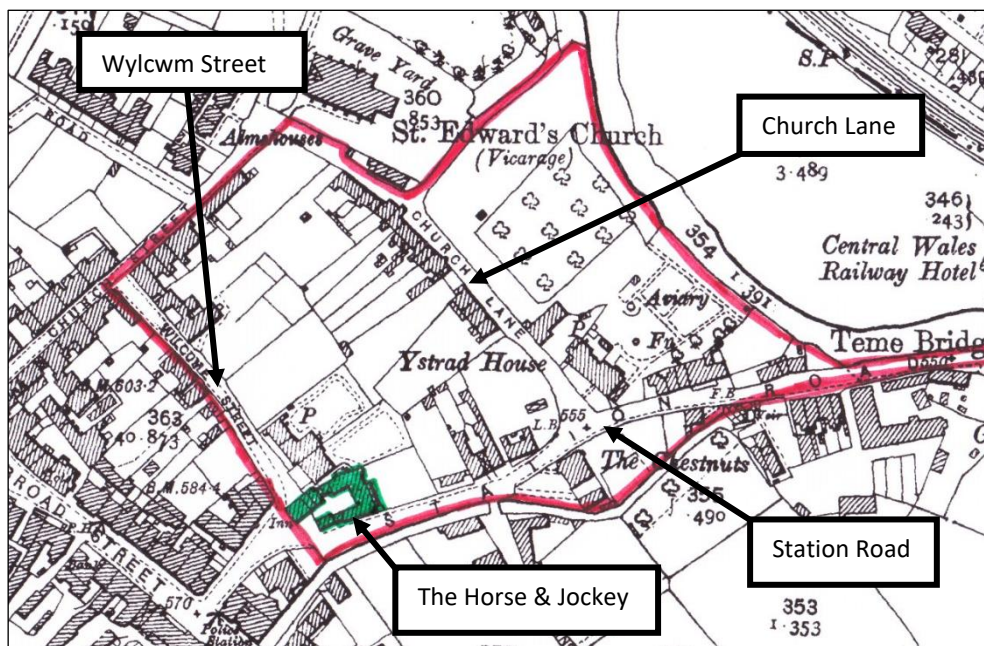


Figure 72. Plan Unit III - later expansion (Digimap, 2016).

See figure 72. Wylcwm Street was probably originally a back lane, serving the properties fronting Broad Street. It was then later developed during the 18C and 19C (two listed houses here date from this time). It curves at its lower south-eastern end, to avoid the Horse & Jockey public house which protrudes into the street at this point, indicating that it was here before the street. The Horse & Jockey is also the second of the two medieval buildings in Knighton. Its siting, orientation and date suggests that Station Road may have been an eastern route into the town during this period. Another building, Temeside, further east along Station Road and closer to the present Teme Bridge, dates from the late 17C/early 18C. Any route here would have to cross the river of course, although there is no record of an early bridge or ford during the medieval period. Church Lane may have been laid out as a route to reach the church after crossing the Teme and to serve the houses close to the Teme Bridge. Later housing grew up at its northern end close to the church, but these do not appear to be earlier than 19C.

The development of Plan Unit III suggests the earliest street was Station Road, approaching from the east and crossing the Teme. The late medieval Horse & Jockey being built here to attract passing trade, with housing developing along its route close to the Teme crossing. Next is Wylcwn Street, possibly originally the back lane of Broad Street and extending as far as Bridge Street at its lower end. This route curves around the Horse & Jockey, thus dating the street as post-medieval, possibly Tudor. It was later developed in the 18C and 19C. Church Lane were also developed predominantly as a residential area during the same period.

Plan Unit IV – Later 18/19C Infill

See figure 73. The buildings to the south of Broad Street below the junction with George Lane, mostly date to the 19C, including the substantial Knighton Hotel and Norton Arms Hotel. The other buildings in this block all appear to be of a similar age. They may have replaced earlier buildings on the site, but if they have no records are readily available to support this. The buildings on the corner at the junction between Broad Street and Station Road are also of a similar age. They appear to be later 19C infill buildings, as the curve at the lower end of Wylcwm Street, may indicate that this route originally passed over the infill site to join with Bridge Street as it crosses the Wylcwn Brook. Plan Unit IV therefore appears to be of 19C origin.

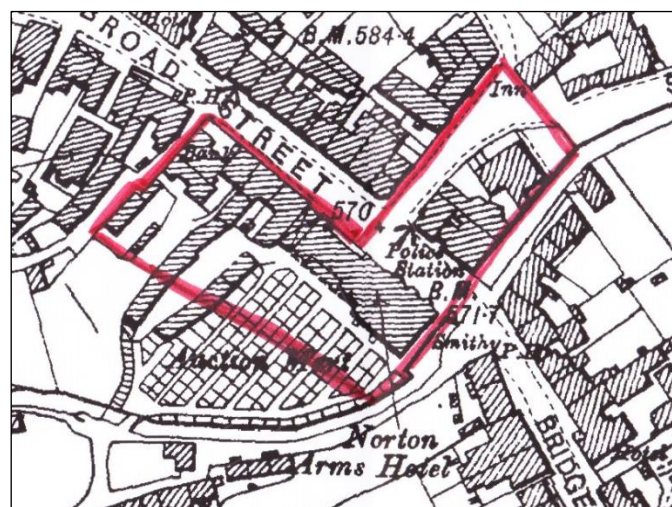


Figure 73. Plan Unit IV – 18/19C infill (Digimpa, 2016).

Plan Unit V – Bridge Street Area

See figure 74. This area represents the original approach to the town from the south (Norton and Presteigne) and the east (the Domesday manors of Stanage, Bucknell, Brampton Bryan and Buckton and on to Leintwardine (of Roman Origin) and the medieval town of Ludlow. The plot form loosely suggests burgages and its position as a bridge head channelling traffic from the south and east into the town, would have been an important and desirable area in which to live and trade. Alternately, it may have been an extra-mural residential area developed here because of lack of space within the main part of town, or the desire of its wealthy residents to be away outside of the town. The Swan Hotel on the west side of the street is a 17C timber-framed cross wing house and the Mansion House (Nos. 11 and 12) was originally a 17C timber-framed house with later additions. This could further suggest that 19C Plan Unit IV may have been occupied by earlier medieval buildings, if the Swan Hotel and Mansion House were sited south of the Wylcwn Brook and the bridge, as building space was in short supply in the main town area.

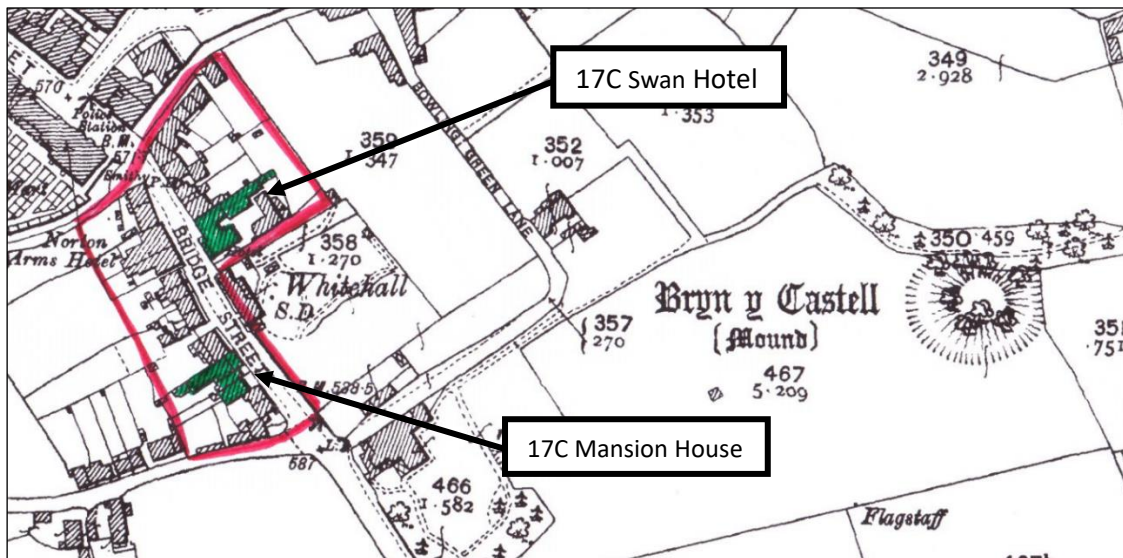


Figure 74. Plan Unit V – Bridge Street area (Digimpa, 2016).

Bryn y Castell, the other “castle” in Knighton would have overlooked this important bridge head area and may have been developed for this very reason, given the turbulent nature of the region during the pre and post Conquest period.

A development for Plan Unit V is difficult. If there was a relationship between the bridge head area and Bryn y Castell, this would suggest they are of a similar date which could be anywhere between mid to late 11C and early 15C (after the defeat of Owain Glyndwr). However, if Bridge Street developed as an extra mural area, then this would suggest a post-medieval date given the 17C Swan Hotel and Mansion House. The loose resemblance of the individual building plots to earlier burgages may indicate a late medieval date, the presence of the plots indicating an extra-mural “overspill” area.

Town Development Summary

Although Knighton, the Domesday manor of *Chenistetune*, is of late Anglo-Saxon origin, as evidenced by its name and presence in the Domesday Book, there is no indication where this earlier settlement could have been sited. A possible location could have been on the southern and eastern approaches to the town, in what is now the Bridge Street area. A settlement here linking to the other Anglo-Saxon manors of Norton and Presteigne (to the south) and Stanage, Bucknell, Brampton Bryan and Buckton (to the east). This was later abandoned or reduced in size, after the development of the medieval town around the motte and bailey castle in late 11C to mid 12C.

Early burgage plots were laid out in High Street and Broad Street, with a wide market area to the north of the castle. This occurring around 1230 with a concentrated building phase late 13C/early 14C. The Church of St Edward the Confessor was built after the main part of the town was already well established. Next, a route from the east into the town was developed and the back lane of the burgage plots fronting the north side of Broad Street became Wylcwn Street, joining with the eastern route and Bridge Street. It was later developed in the 18C and 19C, along with Church Street and Church Lane. The area in Plan Unit IV and Victoria Street happening in 19C.

4.4 Presteigne

4.4.1 Routes and Links

The oldest documented streets in Presteigne date from 14C and are Broad Street, High Street, West Street and Green End. All represent medieval “through routes”, as well as residential and trading areas, which would have linked nearby settlements. There appears to have been some initial doubt over the identity of West Street. Howse (1952) believed it to be West Wall, which had been known as West Street prior to 1850. However, four years later he revised his opinion and declared it was Scottleton Street, adding that it changed from West Street to Scotland Street around 16C. The origin of the name is unknown. It is shown as Scotland Street on a late 19C OS map, but by the early 20C, it had become Scottleton Street.

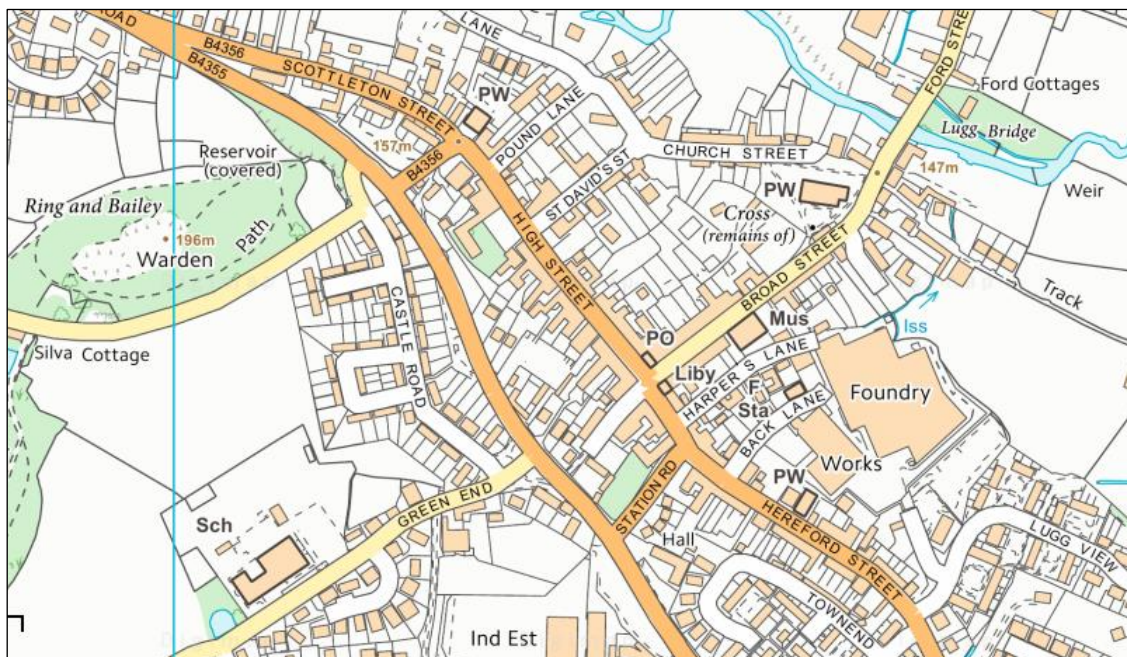


Figure 75. The main street names in Presteigne (Digimap, 2016).

Both Scottleton Street and West Wall could be possible candidates for West Street. Scottleton Street was the original northern route in and out of town before the modern bypass, heading in a north westerly direction towards Ackhill and Discoed. Given that the route ultimately heads west, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose it could have been called West Street. It may originally have been referred to as the “western part”

of High Street or “west High Street”, later becoming simply West Street. Regardless of its original name, the route itself may date to the early medieval period as both Ackhill and Discoed (see table 8 for name derivations) have names of early Anglo-Saxon origin (and both appear in the Domesday Book). The route may therefore have been a track between early farmsteads.

The other candidate for West Street is West Wall, which is now in a residential area, but could have been part of another “lesser” northern route, which ran from the Lugg Bridge, past the church, along Mill Lane and on to Norton (and ultimately Knighton). West Street may have signified the western boundary of the Church land, as it is obviously not the western edge of the historic core of the town. Also, anyone coming over the Lugg Bridge (or ford as it may have been) and heading for Norton or Knighton to the north of Presteigne, could have taken this route to avoid going through the “built up” area of the town (a bit like a medieval by-pass road). The northern section of the route is known today as Mill Lane, although the current mill itself dates to mid 18C. If an earlier mill stood on the same site, this route would have been preferable to going through town with heavily laden pack animals carrying supplies to and from it.

Today there is only a foot path heading north past the old mill to join the main Norton/Knighton road (B4355) further on, although this could be the remnants of an earlier routeway which was possibly abandoned due to flooding. It is interesting to note that the line of the West Walls/Mill Lane route would have been much the shorter route to take when coming from Lugg Bridge and heading north. Perhaps this was the original early medieval north/south route which was abandoned in favour of the “higher ground” along Broad Street and High Street?

Broad Street and Green End form part of the main north-east/south-west route through Presteigne (see figure 75 which shows the main routes through town). Documentary evidence implies Broad Street was well established by 1300 and Green End by 1389. Stapleton lies to the north-east, Kinsham to the east and Evenjobb to the south-west.

As we saw in Chapter 3, Presteigne and Kinsham were probably part of the same large Domesday manor of *Humet*, which may account for three possible routes between them. All have names of Anglo-Saxon derivation, although only *Humet* appears in the Domesday Book. Stapleton and Evenjobb are possibly of early Anglo-Saxon origin (see table 8 for name derivations).

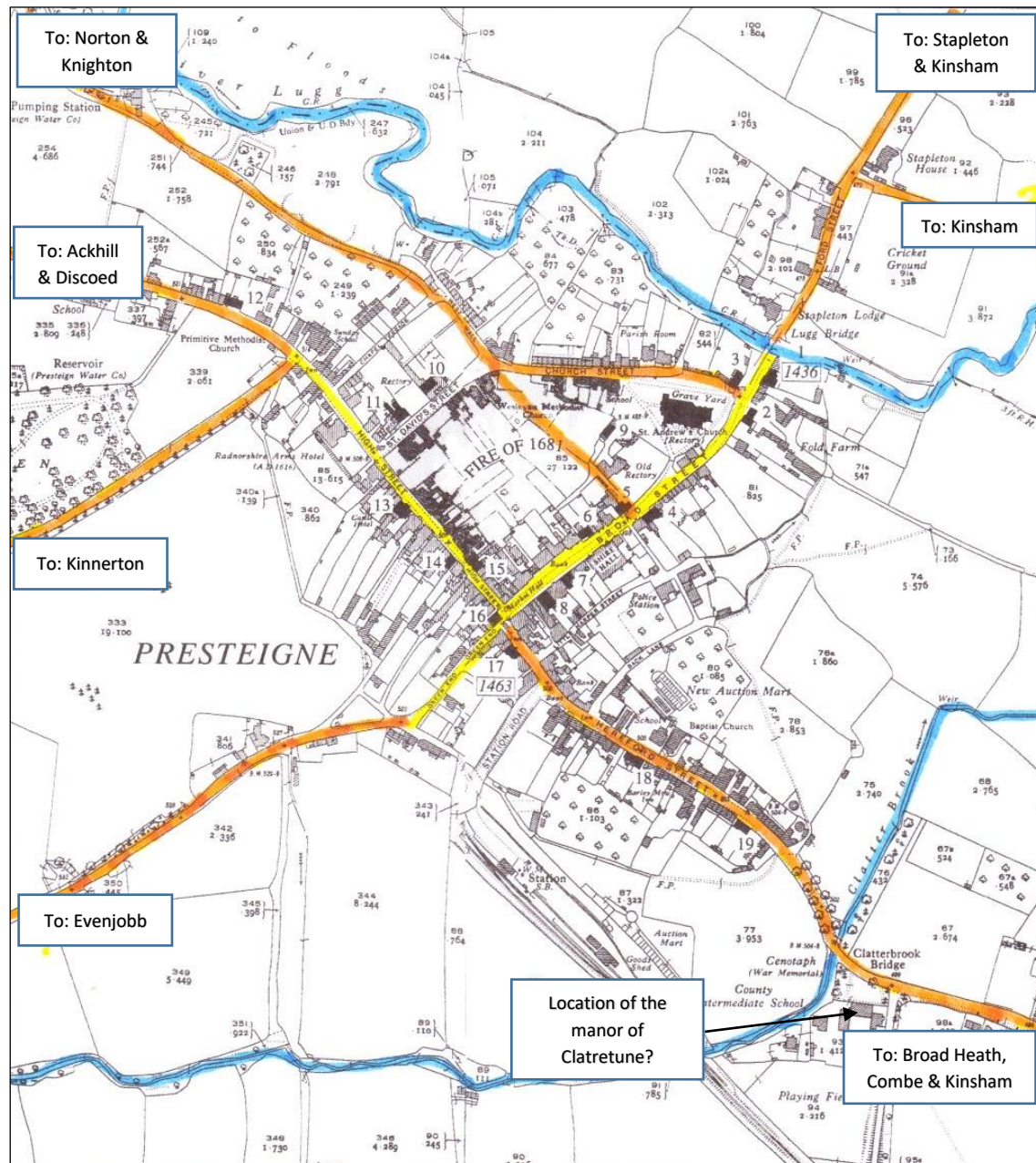


Figure 76. The main routes through Presteigne superimposed on the RCAHMW map of 15/16C buildings. The yellow routes indicate confirmed 14C dates, although they were probably established during the early medieval period. The orange routes have no firm dating evidence, although they are also probably early medieval. The majority of 15/16C buildings lie on High Street, Broad Street and Hereford Street.

Broad Street is a common medieval name and is often associated with a wide street, sometimes used as a market place. Knighton, New Radnor, Leominster and Ludlow all have Broad Streets. Green End may have got its name by being the most westerly boundary of the town where the managed fields or meadows started. Alternately, it may have signified that the road ultimately led to a wooded or green area beyond the town's borders. This particular route would originally have led to the "North Wood" (still in existence today) and on to Evenjobb.

High Street and Hereford Street form part of the main north-west/south-east route through Presteigne (see figure 76). Like, Broad Street, the earliest reference to High Street occurs in 1300 when they appear in a partially damaged document concerning the rental of a burgage or bugages on land adjacent or between the two streets. As discussed earlier, Scottleton Street forms the north-western section of the High Street and leads to Ackihill and Discoed. However, there is also a more truly western route branching from the top of High Street just before it becomes Scottleton Street (seen more clearly in figure 75). This is Warden Road, today only a minor route, which gets its name from the Castle (known as Warden Castle). It leads to Kinnerton whose name is of early Anglo-Saxon origin.

Hereford Road forms the south-eastern part of the route in and out of town. It ultimately leads to Hereford as the name implies, but also to other nearby settlements such as Broad Heath, Combe and Kinsham. Today it is the route of the modern B4362, but may have been in use from prehistoric times as evidence of human activity has been found along its length at Corton Farm (Neolithic henge and two Bronze Age ring ditches) and Broad Heath (Bronze Age ring ditch and Roman villa). It may have been one of the primary routes to the multi-period Walton Basin site, following the route of the River Lugg to its north, thus avoiding marshy ground and flooding.

The name Combe is of Anglo-Saxon origin but Broad Heath as a name is possibly later. It was thought to be the Domesday manor of *Bradelege* in the *Victoria County History of*

Herefordshire (Page, 1908) but this has since been discounted. *Bradelege* is now thought to be Bradley, 2 miles south of Presteigne. No early documents record the name of Hereford Road, although it may have been thought of as the lower part of High Street. The RCAHMW survey recorded three 15/16C buildings along the road. Table 8 shows the derivations of the names of the settlements along the routes discussed earlier.

Modern Name	Meaning	Derivation
Ackhill	Oak tree hill	OE <i>ac</i> and <i>hyll</i> ,
Clartretune	Noisy/stony stream	OE <i>clater</i> and <i>broc</i>
Discoed	Cottage/hut by the dyke	OE <i>dic</i> and <i>cot(e)</i>
Evenjobb	¹ Emma's remote enclosed valley	OE <i>Emma</i> and <i>hop</i>
Combe	Valley	Derived from early Welsh <i>cwm</i>
Norton	North farmstead/settlement	OE <i>nord</i> and <i>tun</i>
Knighton	Farm/settlement of the servants	OE <i>cniht/cnihta</i> and <i>tun</i>
Kinnerton	Cyneheard's farmstead/settlement	OE <i>Cyneheard</i> and <i>tun</i>
Presteigne	Priest's border meadow	OE <i>preost</i> and <i>hemm-maed</i>
Kinsham	² King's border meadow	ME <i>king</i> and OE <i>hemm-maed</i>
Stapleton	Farmstead/settlement on a steep slope	OE <i>stepl</i> and <i>tun</i>

Table 8. The names of the settlements on the routes to and from Presteigne. ¹Gelling (2000) associates the Radnorshire *hop* names with people as resulting from land grants by the rulers of the short lived Anglo-Saxon kingdom of the Magonsaete. ²According to Coplestone-Crow (2009) the medieval ecclesiastical parish of Presteigne also included Discoed, Willey, Stapleton, Kinsham, Combe, Rodd, Nash and Little Brampton which indicates the extent of the territory dependant on the *hemm-maed* feature in pre-Conquest times.

The above table and route map show that Presteigne (or *Humet*) was linked into a network of routes to other Anglo-Saxon farmsteads or settlements. The names of the settlements are of mixed derivation and thus age. There are two personal names (Evenjobb and Kinnerton) and several topographical features (Ackhill, Combe, Discoed, and Stapleton), for example. *Humet* in its original form would also have described a topographical feature ie. border meadow, which was later prefixed to signify its ownership by the priests (possibly from St Andrew's church) and the king. Knighton is an administrative name and thus later and Norton probably refers to the "north farm" of Presteigne.

It is impossible to tell if all the above settlements were originally part of one larger estate. The presence of the two personal names would suggest individual farmsteads worked by “Emma” and “Cyneheard”. Ackhill, on the other hand, may hint at part of a larger estate used for harvesting oak. Without a thorough analysis of all the settlements in the wider area, including their topographical features and routeways, backed up by archaeological and historical evidence, any analysis is little more than speculation.

4.4.2 Urban Plan Analysis

Figure 77 represents the medieval core of Presteigne. It has been divided into six Plan Units, each representing a different phase of development within the town. The form of each plan unit will be discussed in conjunction with the evidence from Chapter 3, in order to propose a developmental sequence for that unit. A final summary at the end of the end of this section will propose an overall timeline for the development of the town.

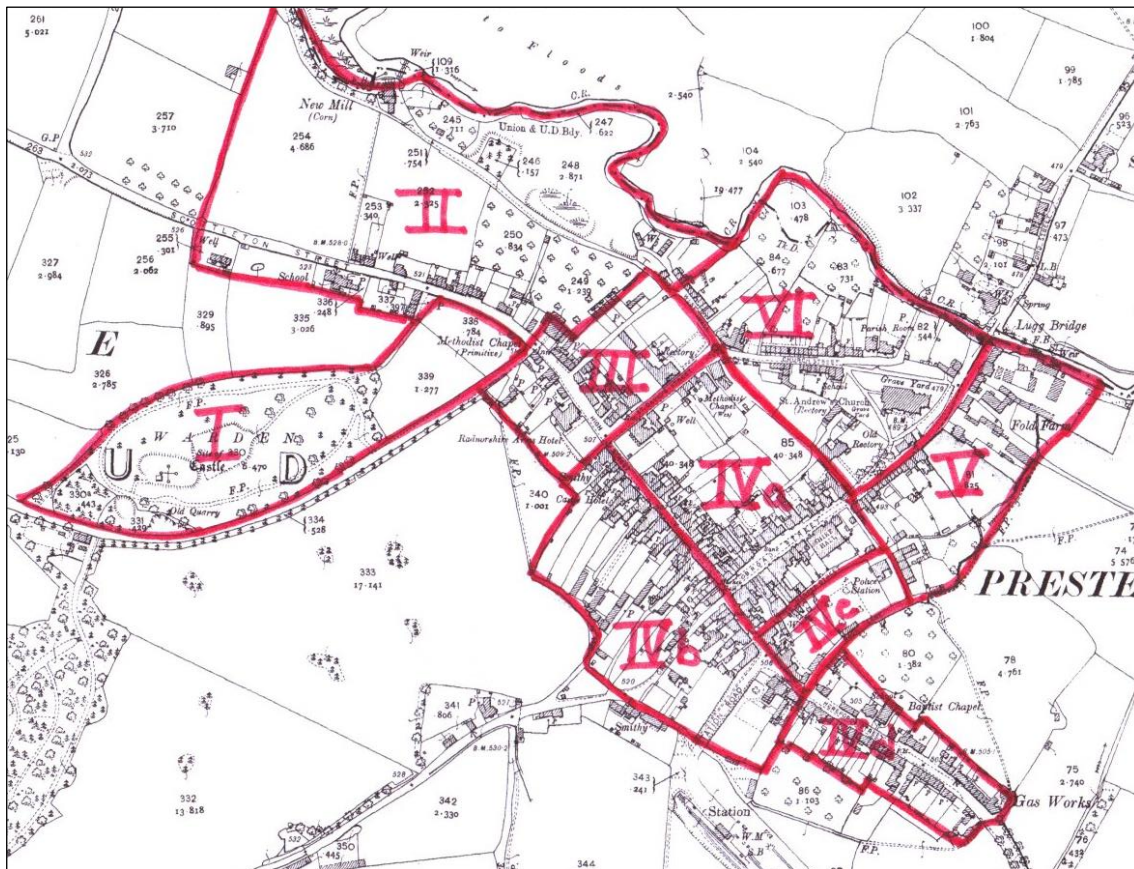


Figure 77. Presteigne historic town Plan Units (Digimap, 2016).

Plan Unit	Area Represented
I	The castle. A conjectural bailey has been shown connecting to Scottleton Street (the main NW route through town)
II	North-western extra mural unit
III	Later medieval town expansion
IV	Medieval Town Core. The plot pattern varies across this area and separate sub-units have been created to reflect this
V	South-eastern extra mural unit
VI	Original church precinct

Figure 9. Presteigne medieval town Plan Units designation.

Plan Unit I – The Castle

The date of construction and the original form of the motte and bailey castle is virtually unknown. It sits on a rocky promontory overlooking the town and river, and consists of an oval enclosure with some evidence of scarping (on the south) and remnants of a bank and ditch. The bank is on the north-west and east side of a possible ringwork. It was landscaped into a pleasure garden and the motte flattened to make a bowling green in the 19C.

It is difficult to see a relationship between the castle, medieval town and church (Plan Units I, IV and VI). Presumably, the castle was built to overlook the main NW-SE and NE-SW routes through town and the river. If so, its main entrance could reasonably be expected to lie to the east or south-east. The only clue may be provided by a path from the north-east corner of the Warden linking to Scottleton Street, which has now been cut through by the modern bypass. The path is on the same line as a row of houses perpendicular to Scottleton Street called “Castle Dyche”. Also, a document of 1337 referred to a “Castleditch at Presthende”, which may hint at an earlier defensive ditch associated with the castle, although it is now almost impossible to see where it could have been. See Plan Unit I in figure 78.

In Clun, as in many other castle towns, there is a recognisable link between the castle, church and main populated area of the town. There, the highest concentration of burgage plots lie along High Street which connects with the south bailey of the castle. The presence of the castle offering some form of protection for the townsfolk and a

steady supply of goods and services to the castle. In Presteigne the main concentration of burgages is along High Street and Broad Street Plan (Unit IV), neither of which are close to the castle.

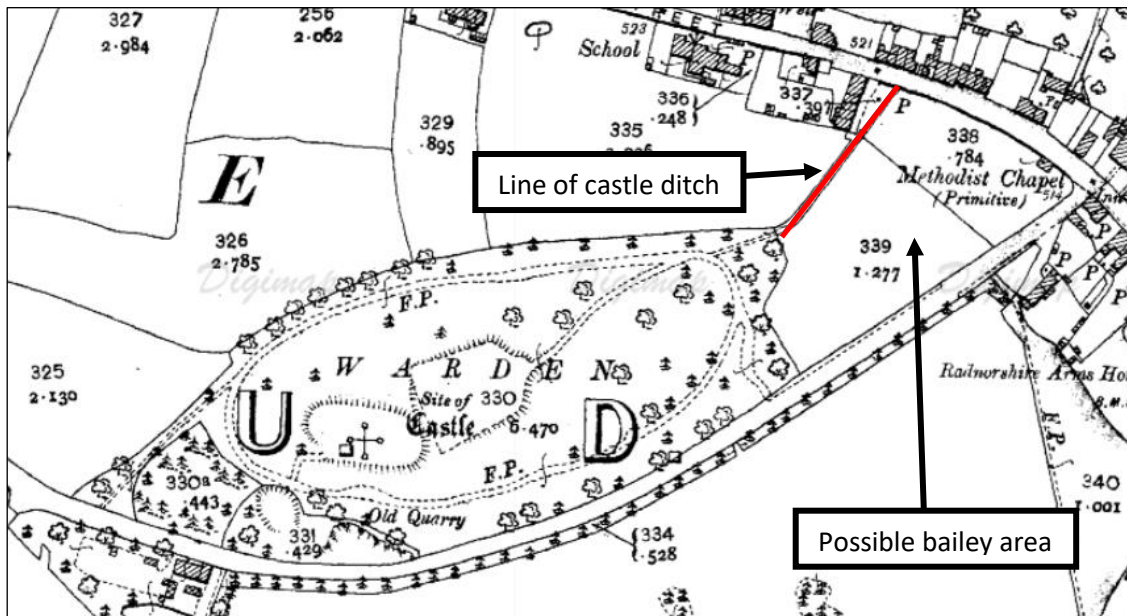


Figure 78. Plan Unit I – the castle (Digimap, 2016).

A possible explanation for the obvious lack of connection or relationship between castle and town, could be that the fledgling town was already established along High Street and Broad Street before the Conquest. It may have evolved from the western portion of the manor of *Humet* (the Priest's border-meadow), close to the Church of St Andrew and the river, before moving to slightly move elevated ground to the west. It is interesting to note that *Humet* was held by Osbern fitz Richard since before the Conquest. The entry in the Domesday Book records that "he held it himself from King Edward". The manor was described as being waste before and after the Conquest, although the lordship itself was valued at 10s. This would imply that the part of the manor held by fitz Richard himself (often referred to as the *demesne*), and used to supply his own household was productive, and as such, taxable. This contrasts with the other manors held by him in the area, but may be explained by the size of *Humet*, which was large by Domesday standards. The part in lordship could have been well to the east ("the Kinsham part") of the border area and thus escaped Welsh attacks in the mid 11C.

The castle may never have been thought of as a permanent fortification. It could have been put up by Osbern fitz Richard as a temporary forward base to protect his most westward manors against immediate pre and post Conquest Welsh attacks. It does not appear to have had any stone fortifications, although any evidence that did survive to a later period may well have been lost when the motte was later landscaped. It may not have been maintained after the initial unrest was over, so that when the second wave of Welsh attacks came two centuries later, it was not repaired (there are no records of murage grants) and left to its fate.

The location of the castle in Plan Unit I would therefore suggest that the castle was located to the west of the town for two main reasons; (a) the site offers a good naturally occurring defensive position on an elevated rocky outcrop, with good views over the surrounding routes, town and river, and far enough removed not to be affected by possible flooding. A natural feature would also require the least amount of manpower to make it into a defended base, and (b) if the castle was thought of as a temporary measure, then it may simply have been “fitted in” around the existing settlement. If the settlement was already thriving, it may have been productive enough not to warrant the imposition of a defensive motte on its existing infrastructure.

A proposed timeline for the castle’s construction is difficult. It may be pre-Conquest if Richard fitz Osbern was protecting his western manors (he held many prior to the Domesday survey), or post-Conquest, in keeping with the general pattern of border castle construction. Thus suggesting a date range from mid/late 11C to mid 12C. If the date of destruction of 1262 is accepted, then the castle had a very short life span (approximately 100 years).

Plan Unit II - North-Western Extra Mural Unit

This area is on the north-western edge of town (see figure 79) and is still relatively sparsely populated as it would have been during the medieval period. Today, a few houses are scattered along Scottleton Street, the oldest of which was recorded in the

RCAHMW survey as a 15/16C four-bay, cruck-framed hall-house now divided into three separate dwellings (Nos 4, 5 and 6). It may originally have been built here because of lack of space towards the centre of town.

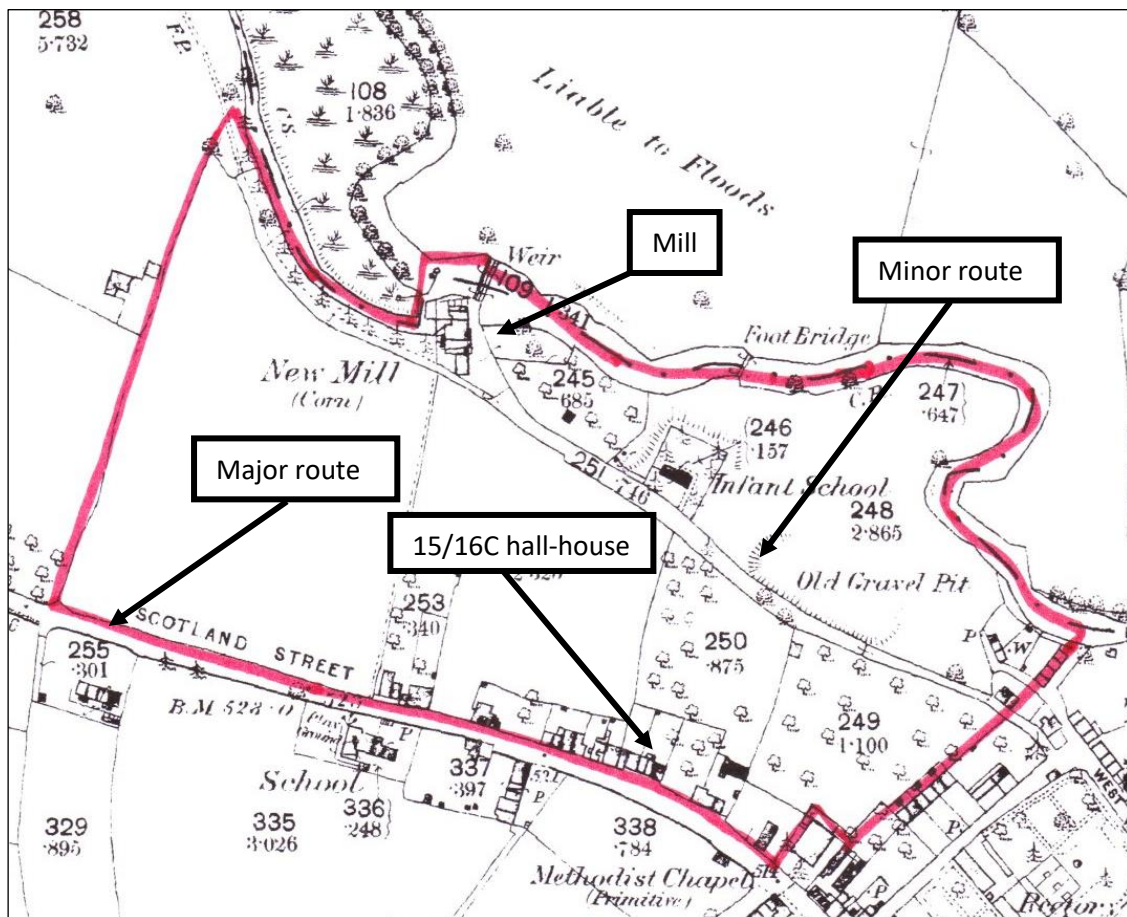


Figure 79. Plan Unit II - north-western extra mural unit (Digimap, 2016).

The northern part of the Plan Unit skirts the river which may have had a mill, possibly replaced by the “New Mill” as shown on the late 19C OS map above. New Mill dates from the mid 18C at the latest (CPAT HER 30364). A weir is also shown and is still present today, as is the old mill building which has been converted into a residential dwelling. The river was always liable to flooding and a large marshy section can be seen to the north.

The route to the mill can be seen coming from the south-east and continues past it, heading in a north-westerly direction. It is now a footpath as marked on the map, but

may have been part of an early “through route” as discussed earlier. Note also that Scottleton Street is shown as Scotland Street.

The development of Plan Unit II would suggest that it was originally well outside of the main town. It had one major route running along its southern border (Scottleton Street) and another possible minor route to the north. There was initially no housing in the area but there may have been a mill. At least one house was present in the late medieval period possibly due to restricted space in historic core of the town (Plan Unit IV), which would have been fully developed by that time. Alternately, any housing built here may have been deliberate to avoid the overcrowded town.

Plan Unit III - Later Medieval Town Expansion

This area represents a later development than the main High Street/Broad Street central historic core (Plan Unit IV). See figure 80. It appears to have been part of a planned area, perhaps intended as an extension to High Street and forms a neat rectangle of late medieval buildings. St David’s Street was probably part of this development, although this is by no means certain (see later discussion for Plan Unit VI) and forms the boundary between this Unit and Unit IV. Another street parallel to St Davids Street, now known as Pound lane, but previously known as Chapel Street (and mysteriously un-named on early OS maps), may have been created at the same time.

The footprint of the long narrow building plots between St David’s Street and Pound Lane are much denser at the junction with High Street. The whole block (ie. the rectangular area enclosed by St David’s Street, West Wall, Pound Lane and High Street) may originally have been laid out like this, but later building has now obscured the original plot boundaries. Alternately, the plots at the West Wall end may not have been such an attractive proposition for medieval traders, being that little bit further from the busy High Street, so they were never as closely packed as those at the High Street end. Two 15/16C buildings in St David’s Street have been identified from the RCAHMW survey as containing elements of timber framing, although both have subsequently been

enlarged. Both are situated on the north side of St Davids Street where the property plots are still “generous” today.

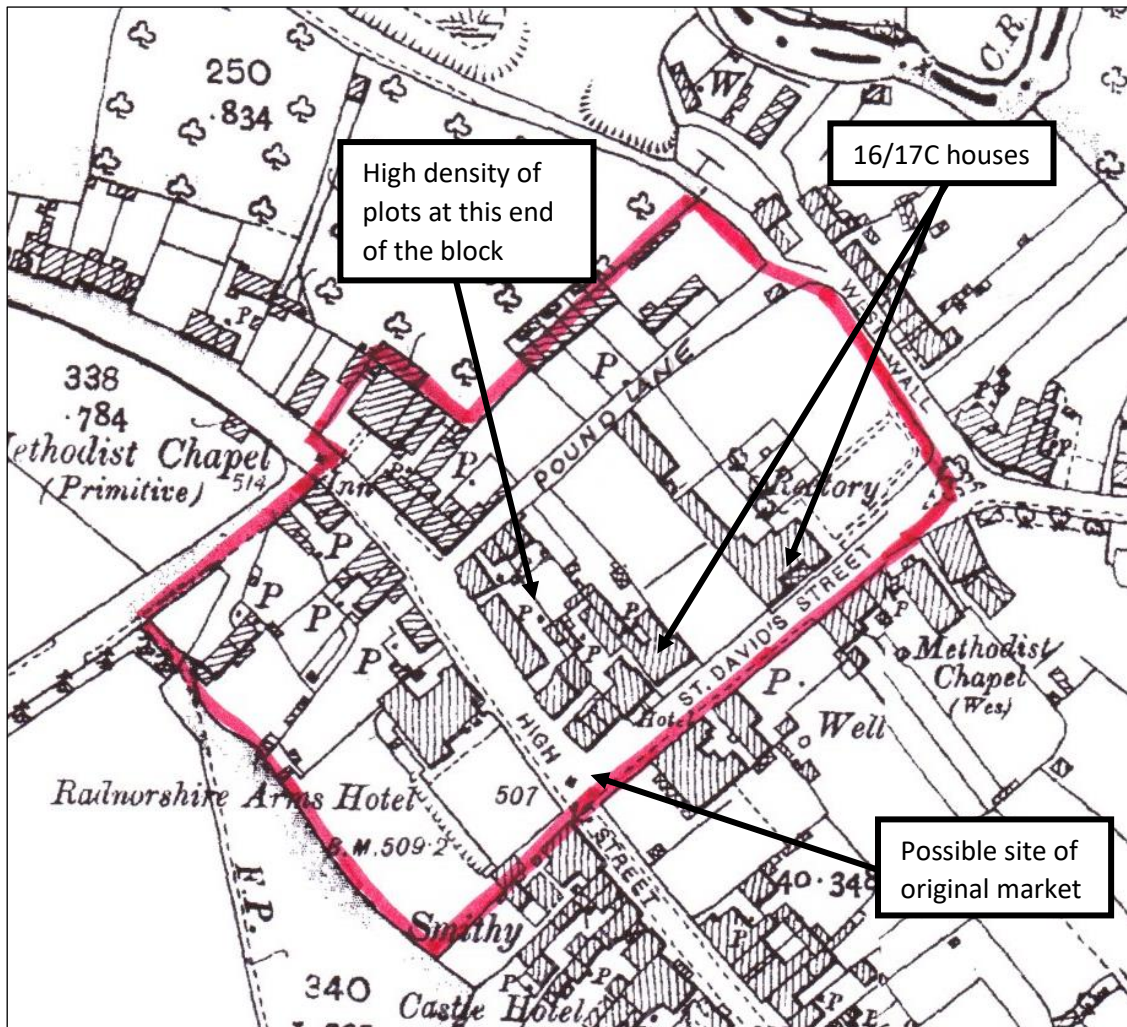


Figure 80. Plan Unit III - later medieval town expansion (Digimap, 2016).

Pound Lane’s early origins are unclear. It may have been created to serve as a back lane to the properties on St David’s Street. Today, a long substantial wall runs almost the whole length of the lane on its south side. There is only one property on this side, close to the junction with High Street, which appears to be a later insertion. There is a regular row of cottages set back on its north side (as shown on early OS maps) which are post-medieval in appearance and probably date from the 19C. Workers cottages perhaps?

The timber framed Radnorshire Arms Hotel occupies a large site in this Plan Unit. According to the listing description it was built in 1616 as a private house and became an inn in 1792. The hotel itself claims it dates from late 16C when it was built as a residence for Sir Christopher Hatton, sometime Lord Chancellor of England during the reign of Elizabeth I. If the original late 16C/early 17C site was as extensive as it appears on early OS maps, then it was a substantial residence and would have had a commanding position at the top of High Street.

The original market place may have been located at the junction with High Street and St David's Street, as a medieval market cross was recorded as standing here (CPAT HER 320). The site is now marked by a modern wall plaque. The area itself appears to be quite open as shown on early OS maps and could have accommodated a small market place. It may have been encroached upon by later medieval housing due to the pressure for trading premises along High Street and was subsequently moved. The Victorian Italianate market hall stands further down High Street where it joins Broad Street. It may also mark the presence of a previous market hall which was later outgrown and Broad Street used as an open air market area (see Plan Unit IV discussion). For example, Knighton's old market hall was replaced several times before its final demolition in the 1980s and many small medieval market halls still stand in the wider region, such as Hay-on-Wye and Ross-on-Wye.

Plan Unit III appears to have developed as a result of the insertion of St David's Street and Pound Lane, due to the late medieval expansion of the town. It is not known if the original plot units would have been long and narrow, as apart from the small congested strip fronting High Street between Pound Lane and St David's Street, there are few remaining plot boundaries. There are what would have been three substantial 16/17C buildings within this Plan Unit, which might imply they were laid over original burgage units or the plots were always larger here.

Plan Unit IV - Medieval Town Core

Plan Unit IV (see figure 81) is composed of four separate sub-units, which represent slightly different forms within it, although the unit as a whole still represents one single phase of development. It comprises the medieval core of the town that grew up along the main NW-SE routes through town as discussed earlier and in Chapter 3 (ie. early street dating evidence).

Sub Unit IVa. Presteigne suffered from a great fire in 1681 where a total of 72 people are listed as being affected by it. Howse (1955) took this to mean that 72 houses were also destroyed. However, after cross-referencing two lists which contained the names of the inhabitants of the town in 1660, and the names of those owing fines between 1670 and 1672, he found that 15 of the inhabitants lived in High Street and 6 in St Davids Street. He therefore deduced that the area affected by the fire was bounded by High Street, Broad Street, Church Street and St Davids Street ie. the central historic core of the town. He cited the Ogilvy route map of 1675 as showing a “solid block of houses behind High Street in a lane which connected Broad Street with St Davids Street” and believed it was possible that it was these houses which had suffered in the fire.

Howse’s reference to a lane between St Davids Street and High Street could have been the now obscured Canon’s Lane to West Walls route proposed earlier for a minor route from the Lugg Bridge, passing by the west side of the church, before continuing along West Walls and Mill Lane, as discussed earlier.

It is known that the Rectory on the north side of St Davids Street is a reconstructed medieval house with reused cusped trusses and St Davids House, a few doors along, has two surviving box-framed wings linked by a reconstructed main range (Suggett, 2005). Both are 16/17C and pre-date the fire (see Plan Unit III). Since no evidence of fire damage was discovered in the RCAHMW survey, this would imply they were not affected by it, lending weight to Howse’s argument that it was only the houses in the central area that were affected.

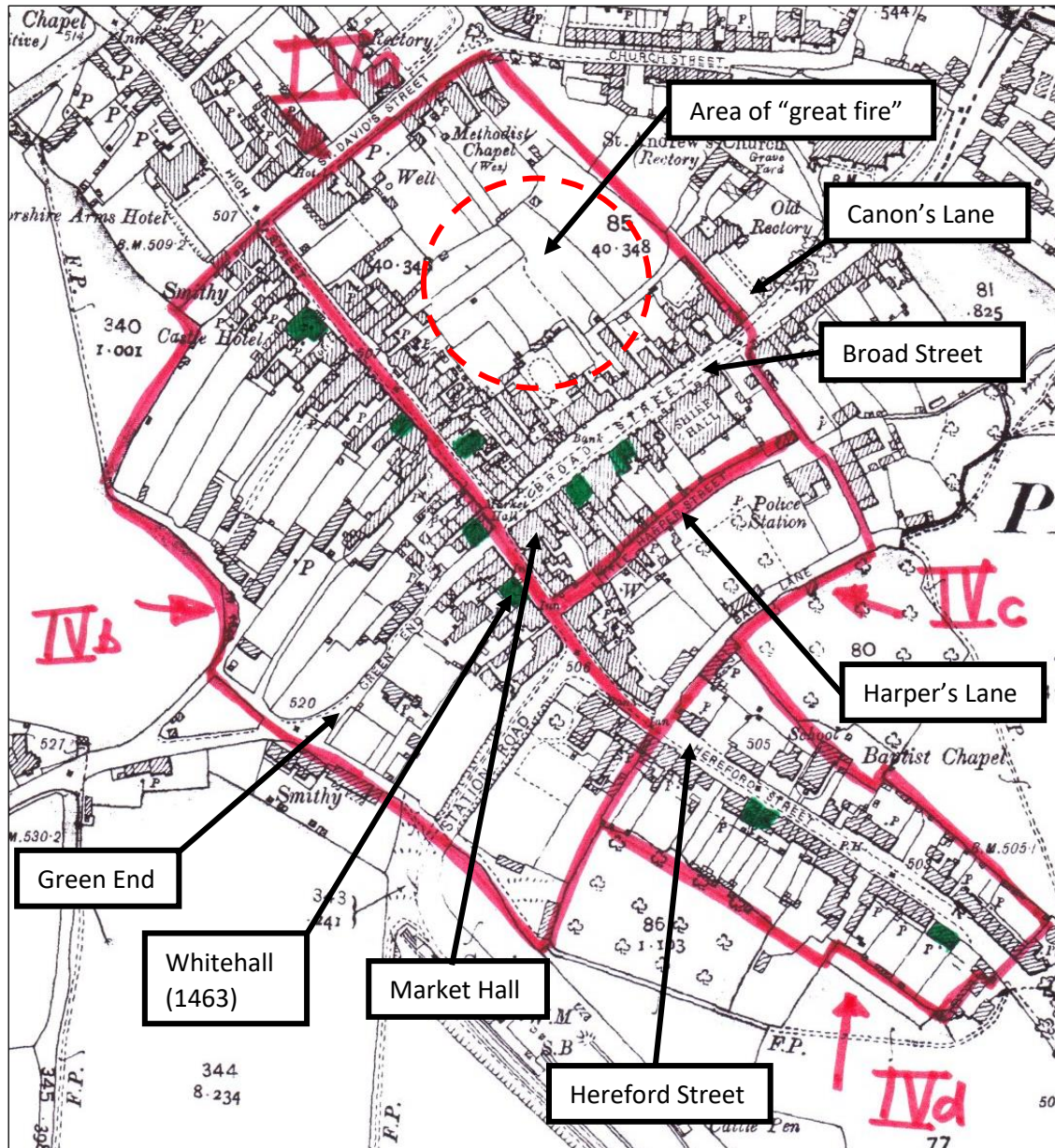


Figure 81. Plan Unit IV - medieval town core (Digimap, 2016). Green blocks represent 15/16C buildings.

The plot pattern here is difficult to interpret which would be expected if the properties were as tightly packed as they appear on the map. When space is at a premium, as it would have been in this particular area, the burgage plots become truncated at the rear to accommodate extra buildings. Here they are tightly packed to the rear of the High Street/Broad Street junction, which would have facilitated the spread of a fire, especially as they were of timber-framed construction.

The fire may have reduced the number of buildings in the central area of this sub-unit, as it seems they were never rebuilt, the area remaining largely undeveloped to this day. However, it may not have been as congested as previously thought. The individual plots fronting Broad Street and High Street (at least those away from their intersection), may have retained some form of rear garden or yard, whose boundaries are now lost.

It is thought that Presteigne's original market place may have been located at the junction of High Street and St David's Street in Plan Unit III, however the current Market Hall and Assembly rooms are located on the corner of Broad Street and Hereford Road, which may suggest otherwise. According to Parker (1997) these were a "new build" in the late 19C in response to a lack of decent market facilities, so perhaps the site here is of no great age after all. Broad Street is the better candidate for a medieval market area, as the name itself is traditionally linked to its use as market place. It would also have been well placed for the two main routes into town.

Sub Unit IVb. This area represents the south-west side of High Street. Although it is contemporary with the rest of Plan Unit IV, the rear plot length is greater than those in the other sub-units. This would indicate that space was not at a premium on this side of town when they were laid out. Also, no later development has been fitted in behind them, unlike the insertion of Pound Lane in Plot Unit III and Harper's Lane in sub-unit IVc. The rear boundary of the plots is a back lane (as shown on early OS maps), which is a typical medieval arrangement between burgages and the "town fields". Green End, which was part of the main NE-SW route, bisects this sub-unit and would have provided access to the back lane of the plots, as well as continuing on to Evenjobb (via Slough and a series of woods). Green End itself probably gained its name because it provided access to the "green end" of town ie. the town fields, or even the woods further on.

Two 16C buildings survive in High Street (Nos. 42 and 47) with many more dating from 17C. Presteigne's second oldest building, Whitehall, dated to 1463 survives in this sub-unit, situated close to the junction with High Street and Broad Street. The plot forms still

remain easily recognisable today, although many have been truncated at the rear to accommodate impositions such as a car park, Station Road and the modern bypass.

Sub Unit IVc. This area represents the plots on the south-east side of Broad Street. These were laid out at the same time as the rest of the sub-units within Plan Unit IV, but were later bisected when Harper's Lane was inserted over the top of them. There is reference to a document of 1389 in which land and a meadow are mentioned in *Harperslye*, which may have referred to a town field behind the original burgage plots before they were bisected. The name of Harper's Lane deriving from its proximity to *Harperslye*.

The insertion of Harper's Lane would indicate that space was in short supply at this end of town, given its proximity to the already densely packed plots centred around the intersection of High Street and Broad Street. Like the other later medieval imposition of Pound Lane in Plan Unit III, the plots at one end of this new block are more closely packed than the other. These are located at its junction with Hereford Road, which is really a southern extension of High Street. Again, like Pound Lane, these plots have the appearance of being squeezed in to catch the High Street trade, while the plots at the other end are of more generous proportions.

Sub Unit IVd. This area has been included in Plot Unit IV because of the presence of two 15/16C houses. One (Cromwell House) is a storeyed timber-framed house with cross-wing and the other (Nos. 26-28) is a cruck-framed hall range with a box-framed solar cross-wing, now converted to a row of stone-walled cottages (Suggett, 2005). Both would have been substantial houses during the late medieval period, indicating the high status of their owners. Like the 15/16C four-bay, cruck-framed hall-house in Plan Unit II, these two may have been sited here because of lack of space in the town centre, or their owners deliberately chose to be on the outskirts of town. Given the regular appearance of the plots here, it would seem that some form of planning originally took place when they were laid out. The later houses were then perhaps superimposed on several original plot units.

The form of Plan Unit IV and the analysis of the routes through town earlier, would suggest that High Street and Broad Street were almost certainly in use as part of a through route during the early medieval period, maybe with a scatter of houses around the church or at their junction with one another. The routes themselves may even have been established in pre-historic times, providing access to the Walton Basin complex. This central area could also have been the site of the manor of *Humet*, although there is no evidence to support this.

The town was granted a market charter in 1225, which would indicate it was well established by this time and considered lucrative enough to develop as a centre of trade. The laying out of the burgage plots, possibly over the top of any previous pre-Conquest settlement, must have happened well before this date. The uniform nature of the plot units within the larger Plan Unit, suggesting that they were laid out within a short space of time. It is interesting to note then, that the *Fifteenth* tax assessment of 1293, only records 17 taxpayers, although this is in direct contrast to a rent roll of 1300, which records over 70 residents. Why the difference in numbers?

Both High Street and Broad Street are named in the rent roll, indicating they were both well established by this time and could have easily accommodated 70 burgages. Perhaps the earlier dip in numbers was due to a border raiding incident which temporarily halted the town's earlier growth? However, this was not the case in nearby Knighton where the *Fifteenth* records 71 taxpayers in 1293 and 162^{1/3} burgages by 1304. Unfortunately, there is no explanation for the disparity between the 1293 and 1300 figures for Presteigne, although the quantity of plots within Plan Unit IV would suggest that the town was thriving both before and after the 1293 dip. Green End and West Street were recorded in a will of 1389 thus giving them a latest date of establishment for occupation within the town.

Plan Unit V - South-Eastern Extra Mural Unit

This area includes the lower part of Broad Street and is located close to the Lugg Bridge and opposite the church (see figure 82). It was, and still is, on the periphery of town. There was a tannery here which can be seen on a late 19C OS map. Its date of origin is unknown but a reference to one in the town was noted in the mid 18C (CPAT HER 30267). Tanneries were traditionally sited away from the town due to the unpleasant odours given off during the tanning process. They also needed a ready water supply, which is no doubt why it was located at this spot. However, in this particular case it seems a little strange due to its close proximity to the church. Perhaps other potential sites further west along the river were not suitable because of the “New Mill” and its series of weirs (as shown on Plan Unit II).

The earliest dated building in Presteigne, Tan House, is thought to be on the site of the former tannery. It is a three-bayed box-framed hall house with solar cross-wing and was tree-ring dated to 1436 during the RCAHMW survey. Two cottages adjoining Tan House have been dated to 18C. Adjacent to Tan House are Fold Farmhouse and range, which have been given a date of c1700. Opposite is the former Old Bridge Inn which dates to late 16/17C.

The survival of these early buildings, their relatively loose groupings and the almost complete absence of any plot boundaries, would suggest there was no pressure for land to build on at this end of town. A field opposite the church and possibly owned or managed by them or Fold Farm, survived until the 1980s when it became a small housing development.

There is no material evidence to suggest that Tan House was originally part of a tannery which also dated from 15C. However, given the age and grouping of the adjacent farm buildings, it is tempting to speculate that it they may have been part of a former farm complex, on the periphery of town. If so, perhaps this was the Demesne or Home farm of the church or even the manor of *Humet*.

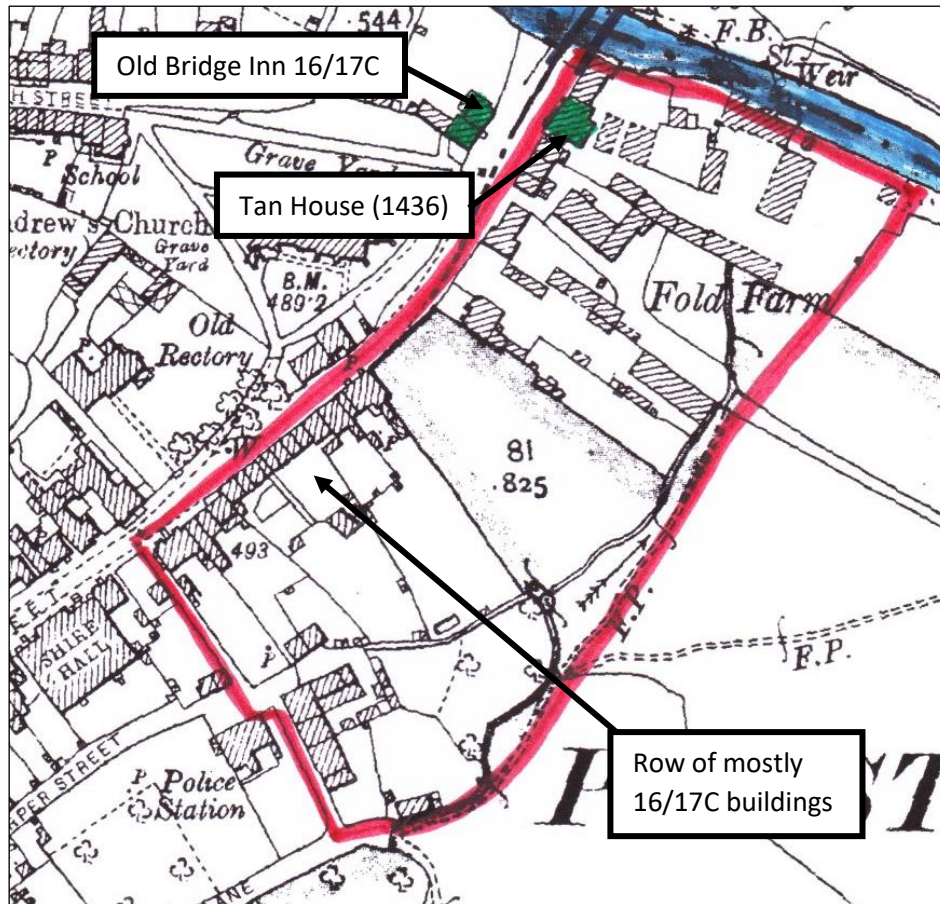


Figure 82. Plan Unit V – South-eastern extra mural unit (Digimap, 2016).

The density of buildings starts to increase on the south-side of Broad Street, moving towards the town centre. Here, a row of terrace houses with narrow frontages, some gable-end on to the street can be seen. This would suggest they should have a corresponding narrow plot behind them. However, as seen in figure 82, their rear plot boundaries are wide, implying that the original plots were sub-divided at a later date to accommodate extra housing. Alternately, larger and wider houses could originally have stood on these plots, and the buildings themselves were then subsequently divided to make smaller narrower dwellings. Both scenarios are possible and may have occurred along Broad Street. An example is Oak Villas, which is a group of three gable-end on cottages that were originally part of a cruck-framed hall-house with jettied cross-wing. See figure 83.



Figure 83. Oak Villas, Broad Street, Presteigne. A cruck-framed hall-house (TA, 2015).

This Plan Unit appears to have developed for three main reasons. The first as a settlement site close to the church, the second as a “functional site” (farm and tannery) and thirdly as an overspill area for the more developed upper Broad Street area. The plot sizes within the Plan Unit are more spacious towards the lower end of Broad Street, which contrast with those further up. However, the majority of the buildings are of a similar age, late 16C/early 17C, the only exception being Tan House, the oldest dwelling in the town. This suggests that the plots within the Plan Unit were laid out within a similar time period. The ones at the upper end of Broad Street, were then later subdivided into separate dwellings, with those at the lower end, remaining in their original form. Tan House is perhaps the last remnant of a bridge head settlement close to the church.

Plan Unit VI - Original Church Precinct

The original church precinct is represented by this rectangular plan unit and comprises the area contained by the boundaries of the river, the lower part of Broad Street, and a previous route linking Canon’s Lane with West Wall (represented by the plan-seams

between Plan Units III, IVa and VI). See figure 84. Canon's lane may date from the same period as the Church, although there is no archaeological or historical evidence to support this. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose there may have been a community of canons (or priests) here when the church was newly established.

As discussed in Chapter 3, some of the building fabric of St Andrew's Church may date from the late Anglo-Saxon period. However, if Christianity was introduced into the western borders of Mercia in the mid to late 8C, then a church (if not one of stone construction) could have stood on this site before then as a daughter church or "outpost" of nearby Leominster Priory. Alternately, if the first church does indeed date from the late Anglo-Saxon period, it may have been constructed to serve the community in the fledgling town of Presteigne and nearby pre-Conquest manors or settlements.

Church Street was part of St Davids Street until the early 19C (Howse, 1955), although there is no firm date for its creation. It is thought to have been named in honour of Richard Martin, who was Bishop of St Davids from 1482-83, and was reputed to have been born in Presteigne. Leland wrote in his *Itinerary*:

"Preisteine was but a Walsche village about Kynge Edward the 4. tyme untyll [Rich.] Martyn, Bysshope of St. Davyds and chauncelar of the Marches, got privileges for it, and made it a market towne, that now is very celebrate for corne." (Toulmin Smith, 1908).

However, there is some confusion over which bishop Leland is referring to as Howse (1956) thought it could equally as well be David Martyn, who was Bishop from 1296-1328. He took exception to the fact that Leland had said that Richard Martin/David Martyn had made Presteigne a market town, as this had already happened by 1225, earlier than either man's time in St Davids.

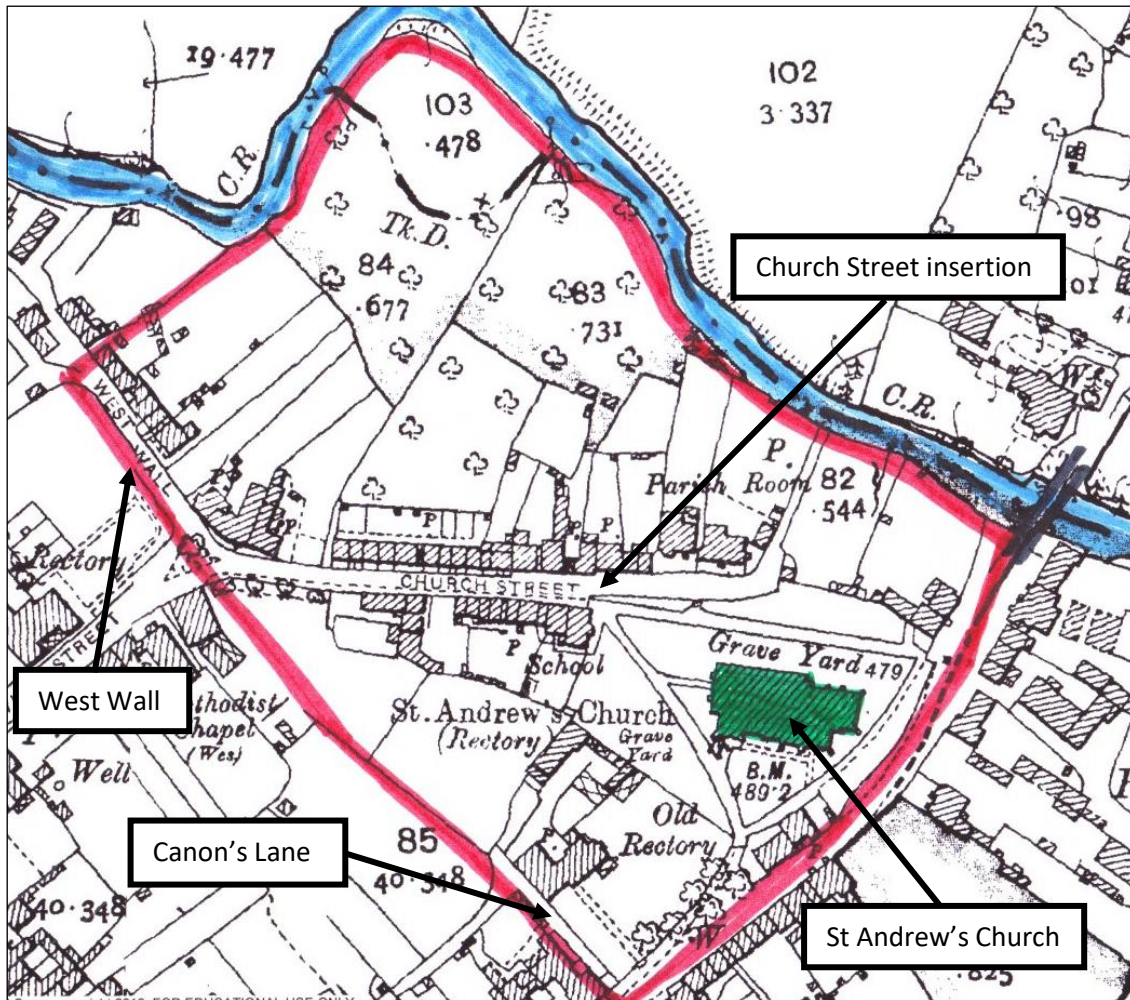


Figure 84. Plan Unit VI - original church precinct (Digimap, 2016).

If Leland is correct that Richard Martin served Edward IV (who reigned from 1461 to 1470 and 1471 to 1483), and St Davids Street is thought to be named after him, this would place the creation of St Davids Street within this period. Alternately, it may already have existed and it was renamed in his honour. Parker (1997) thought Richard Martin's involvement in 1482 was a re-granting of the town's charter, not its original establishment. He also attributed the naming of St David's chantry chapel in St Andrew's church to Martin. Whatever the date of St Davids street, it looks like a later insertion over the top of the original church land.

The development of Plan Unit VI would suggest that the Church of St Andrew's was present from at least the late Anglo-Saxon period and was the first building to be

constructed within this Plan Unit, which defines its original rectangular precinct. A small cluster of buildings grew up opposite (Plan Unit V) and a lane (Canon's Lane/West Wall) ran along its western perimeter, possibly to access an early mill a little further north (Plan Unit II). The lane may also have functioned as a through route to Norton and Knighton. St David's Street (now Church Street at its western end) was later inserted diagonally across the precinct when the area in Plan Unit III was developed. Later housing and a school (18/19C) were added to Church Street.

Town Development Summary

The town of Presteigne is most probably of Anglo-Saxon origin and may originally have been the Domesday manor of *Humet*, initially evolving as a small cluster of buildings close to the Church of St Andrew and the intersection of two existing NW-SE and NE-SW routes, which later became High Street and Broad Street. The routes themselves possibly serving early prehistoric travellers, and later becoming part of a network of roads linking to other pre-Conquest manors. The construction of the castle may have followed soon after the early settlement. It was located on the western side of town, which offered a better defensive position and commanded a view over the growing settlement and the main NW-SE route.

The growing town was granted a market charter in 1225, although the initial laying out of the burgage plots must have been well underway or nearly complete by then. By the end of 13C most of the plots must have been occupied as over 70 residents are recorded at this time in High Street and Broad Street. West Street and Green end were in existence by late 14C. Pound Lane, Harper's Lane and St David's Street were later insertions into the original plan, which may have happened during the late medieval period. All of these streets were later developed as many 17C, 18C and 19C buildings have been recorded throughout the medieval core of the town.

4.5 Kington

4.5.1 Routes and Links

Kington appears in the Domesday Book as *Chingtune* from OE *cyning-tun*, meaning “royal estate”. It is grouped with several other manors in the Elsdon Hundred of Herefordshire, all of which were held by the King (William I). The pre-Conquest owners were recorded as either King Harold or King Edward. Since Edward came to the throne in 1042 and ruled until his death in 1066, when Harold briefly succeeded him before the Norman Conquest, this indicates the manors had been in royal hands for just over forty years at the time of the Domesday survey. Figure 85 shows the manors from the Kington group.

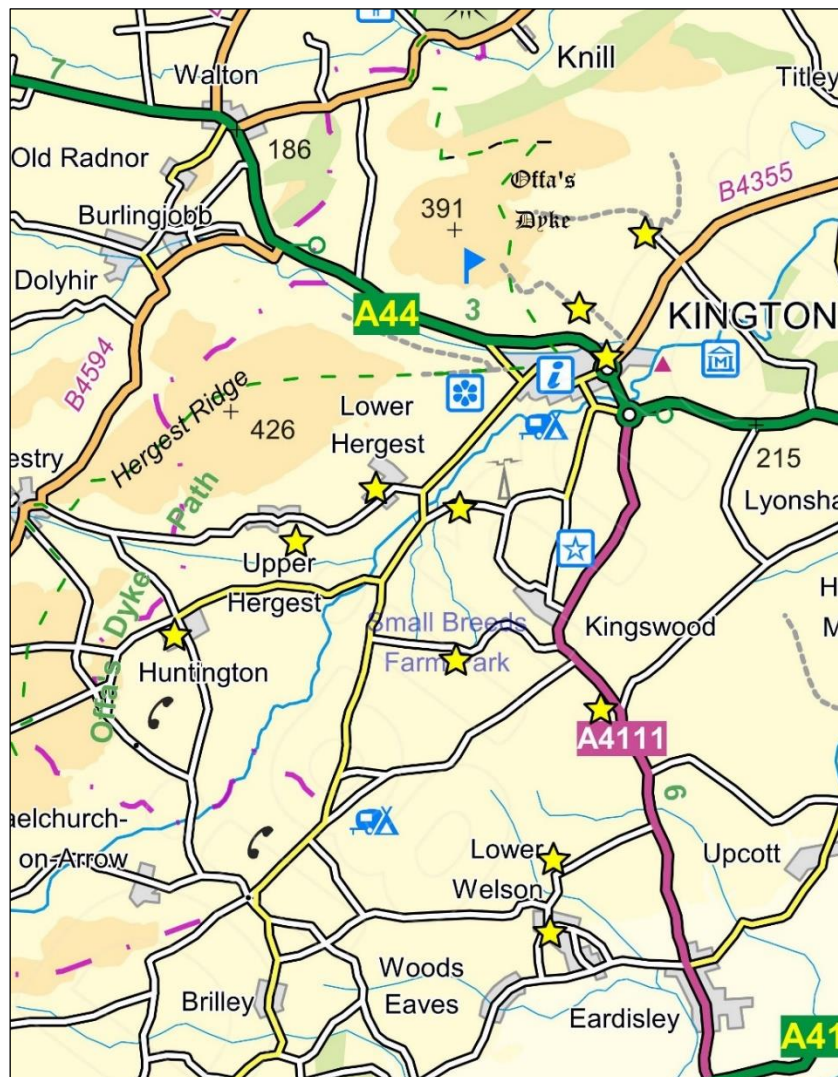


Figure 85. The Kington group of manors in 1086 (Digimap, 2016).

Since all the manors within the group had all been in royal hands for some time, this would imply they were managed or administered as a coherent estate. Kington itself being the “administrative” manor controlling the whole estate, as discussed in Chapter 3. Although Kington is not quite in the geographic centre of the estate, the majority of the other manors are close by and appear to be linked by a network of routes. William I also held other manors within a 5 mile radius of Kington as seen in figure 86. The Kington group are in yellow and the others in red.

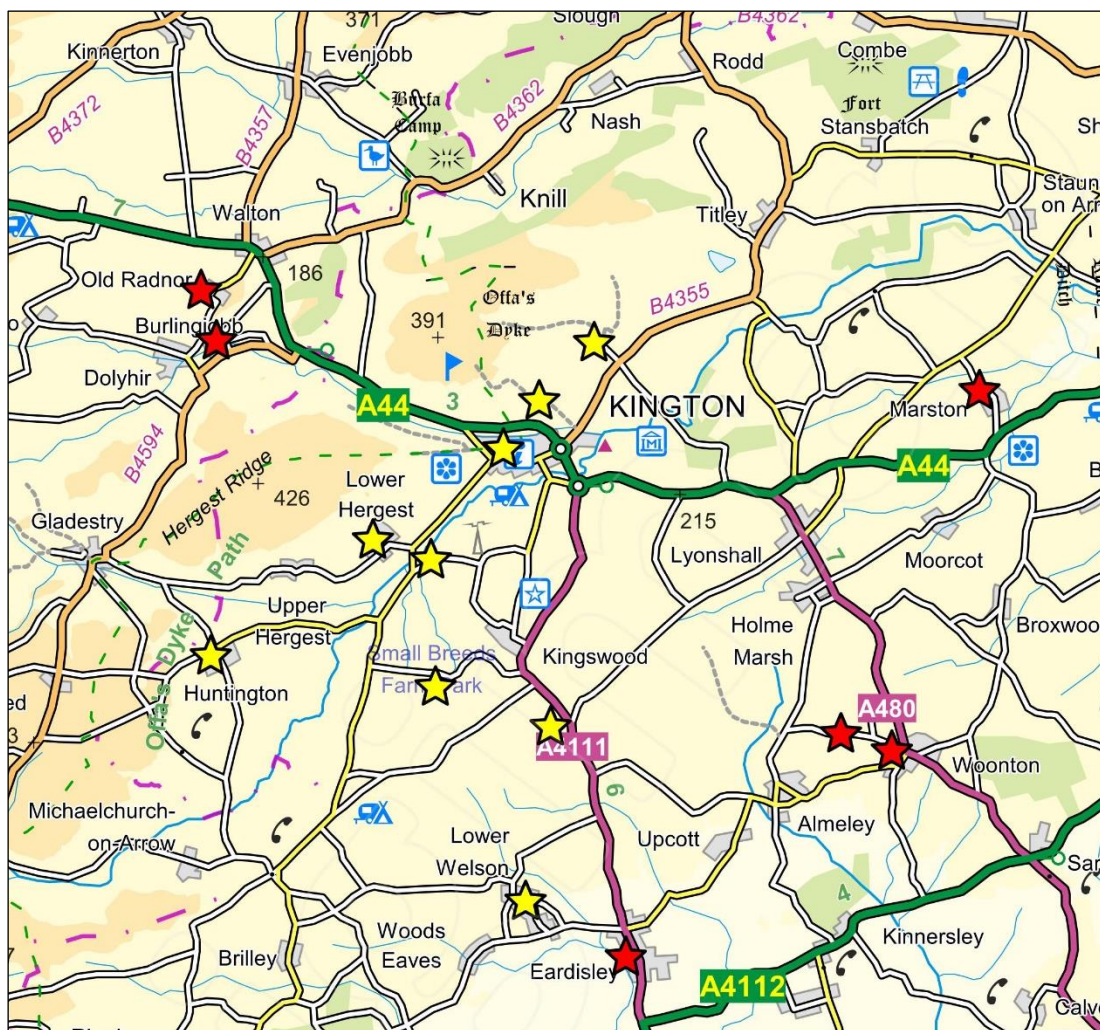


Figure 86. Manors held by William I within a 5 mile radius of Kington in 1086 (Digimap, 2016).

Whilst the “Kington group” of manors were previously held in royal hands prior to the Conquest, all of King William’s post-Conquest manors within a 5 mile radius of Kington, were not. These manors were Old Radnor, Burlingjobb, Eardisley, Woonton, Hopley and

Marston. Of these, only Eardisley and Old Radnor had been in royal hands (King Harold) prior to the Conquest, the others were of mixed ownership, although all had been Anglo-Saxon landholders. It may therefore be conceivable that the royal Kington Group originally included Eardisley and Old Radnor, and all were part of a larger estate centrally administered from Kington itself. Again, routes to these two manors are easily accessible from Kington.

It must be remembered that a manor in royal ownership does not necessarily imply it was run by the king. He may well appoint a “tenant-in-chief” to run it, or a group of manors, on his behalf. In the case of the Kington group plus Eardisley and Old Radnor, no tenants-in-chief are listed in the Domesday Book, which may infer it was run as one large estate both pre and post-Conquest. Alternately, the names of any tenants-in-chief for these manors were not recorded at the time of the survey, unlike Norton and Knighton (a little further north), which were listed as being held by the king but with Hugh Donkey as the tenant-in-chief.

Kington would therefore seem to lie within a network of routes, possibly laid down during the Anglo-Saxon period to link neighbouring farmsteads, with the town itself latterly becoming a central administrative unit.

4.5.2 Urban Plan Analysis

Kington has two main medieval urban areas. The smaller and earlier settlement is laid out around the castle and church to the west, while the slightly later, but much larger one, lies to the east. Both are connected by Church Street. Figure 87 represents the whole of the medieval town, which has been divided into the old and new town areas. The old town consists of Plan Unit I and the new town of Plan Unit II, which has been further sub-divided. Each Plan Unit will be discussed separately with an accompanying plan of their medieval form.

Plan Unit	Area Represented
I	Medieval old town (castle and church)
Ila	Medieval new town – lower Church Street, the market area, High Street, Duke Street and upper Bridge Street
Ilb	Medieval new town – bridge head area (lower Bridge Street)
Ilc	Medieval new town – later expansion (upper Church Street)

Table 10. Kington medieval town Plan Units designation.

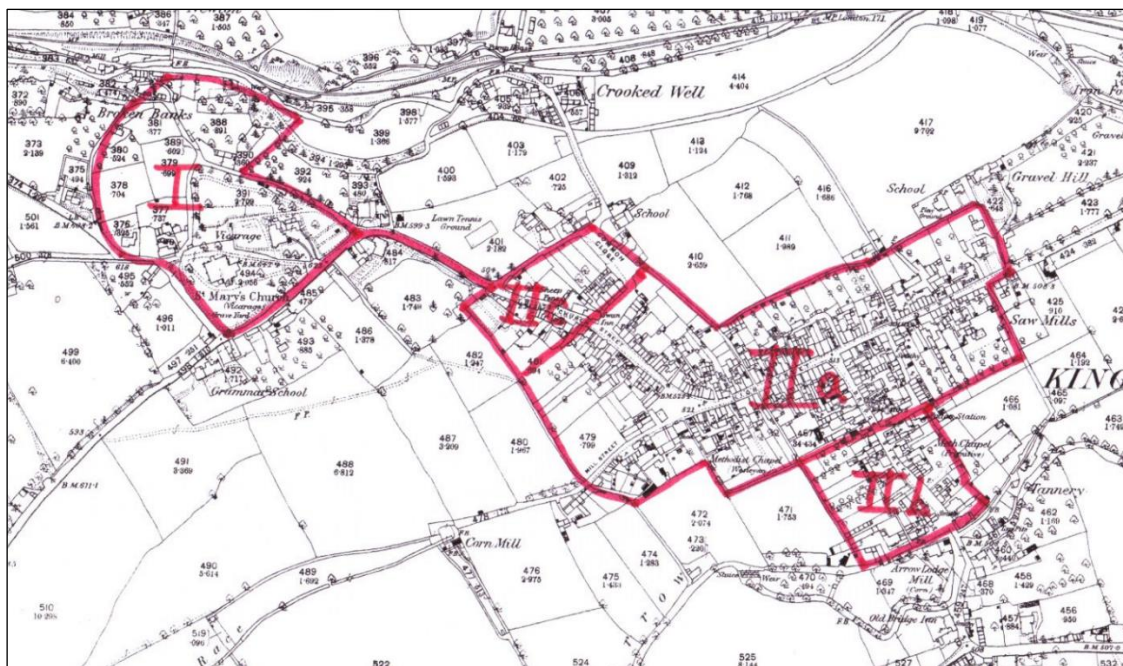


Figure 87. Kington medieval town Plan Units (Digimap, 2016).

Plan Unit I – The Old Town

The old town seems to have been centred around the motte and bailey castle, situated on elevated ground to the west of the present town. Herefordshire HER list four possible sites for 13C tenement plots in this area to the south, south-west and north of the castle plus one to the south of the churchyard (although this has not been included in Plan Unit I). The south-west plot is located on Broken Bank adjacent to some medieval ridge and furrow. See figure 88. The plot to the south of the castle (and to the west of St Mary's Church) is close to a medieval holloway, thought to be the site of an original road to the castle. Broken Bank would be the logical place for the plots, although no traces of their boundaries remain today. A 15C timber framed hall-house is situated to the north-west of the church on the southern boundary of Broken Bank at Nos. 1-2 The Wych. This suggest two possibilities. The first is that it was built over the top of existing burgage

plots, perhaps abandoned after the creation of the new town. The second is that there were no plots in this area to start with.

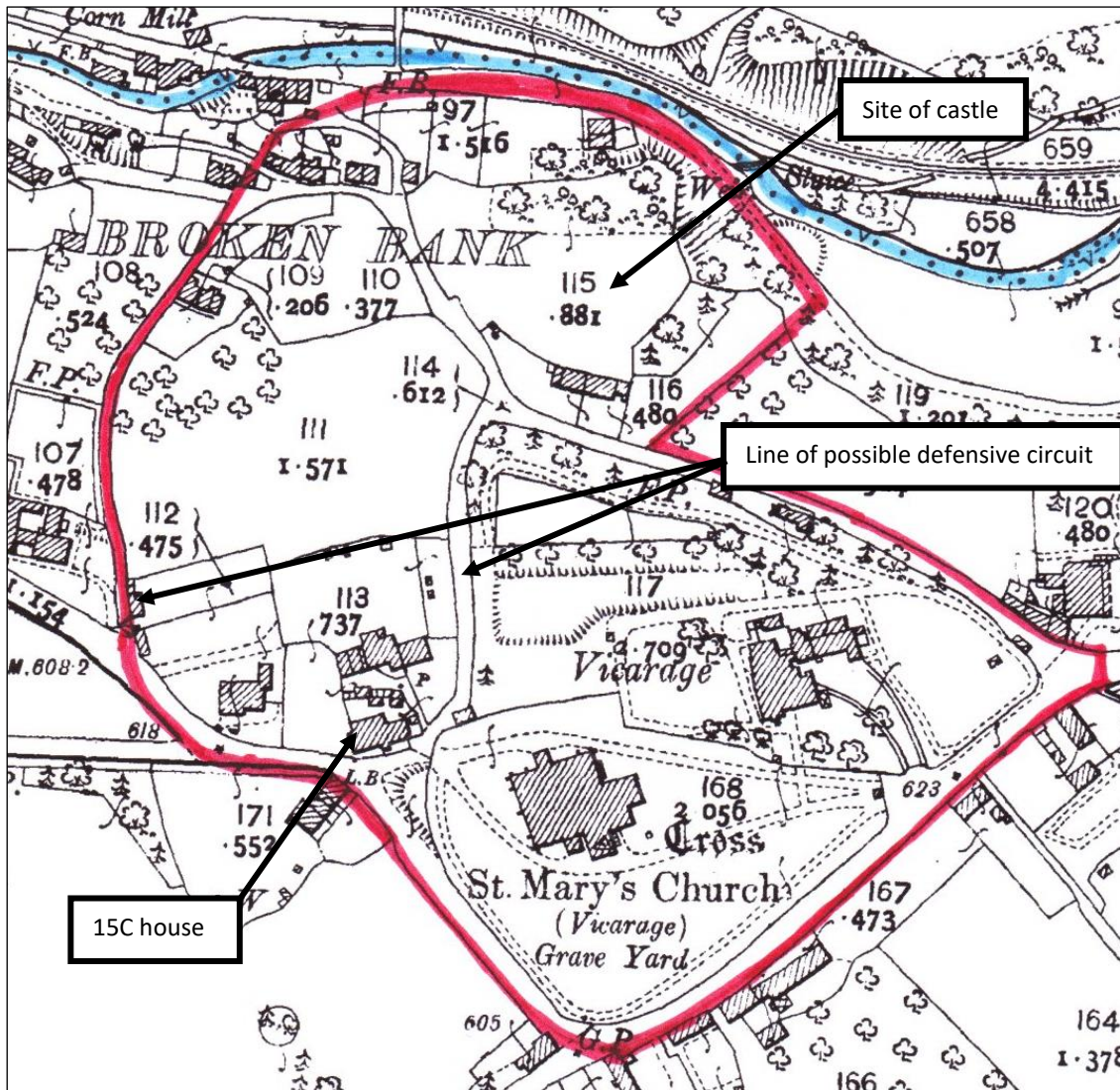


Figure 88. Plan Unit 1 – the medieval old town (Digimap, 2016).

The castle site is not marked on early OS maps as can be seen (or not!) in figure 88. The lane running around the base of Broken Bank is very suggestive of a defensive circuit or outer bailey. The castle motte having a small bailey of its own (like Knighton), as discussed in Chapter 3. There is a record of a grant in 1187 to repair the castle palisade and this constitutes the only explicit reference made to it. But where was the palisade? It could have been around the motte itself or the small bailey, or even the theoretical

Broken Bank defensive circuit. Unfortunately, like the location of the medieval burgage plots, there is no way to know without further evidence.

Various dates for the castle have been suggested. The most probable is late 11C/early 12C, when Kington was made into a barony. Remfrey (1997) has it being destroyed by King John in 1216 and not repaired from that point onwards, although Stirling-Brown (1996) has it being rebuilt between 1200 and 1240. It is situated close to the Church of St Mary, the only case study town to conform to this classical Marcher lordship arrangement.

The earliest part of St Mary's Church is its tower, which is believed to be c1200 and is not aligned with the rest of the church. Its position suggests it was detached from its original church and built for defence, the close proximity to the castle perhaps confirming this. However, if it had come within a defensive circuit like that proposed for Broken Bank, then presumably such a sturdy tower would not be needed. This maybe indicating there was no outer defensive circuit and the site's natural topography is responsible for the lane around the base of the Broken Bank hill. The misalignment of the church tower was most probably due to an earlier church on the same site, long since demolished, and which may have been contemporary with the castle.

A watching brief carried out in 2009 when a series of trenches for water pipes were dug around the north and west walls of the church, only uncovered a few clay tobacco pipe stems and a stone roof tile (Here HER 6929). No evidence was found for any previous building remains.

A timeline for Plan Unit I would therefore suggest that the motte and bailey castle was first constructed late 11C/early 12C, when the barony of Kington was created. The laying out of the first burgage plots on Broken Bank hill following soon afterwards. The castle was repaired late 12C and may have gone out of use by early 13C, possibly hastening a move by the burgesses to the new town. Burgage rents for Kington borough (the old

town) and New Kington are recorded in 1267. The old town site may have ceased to be used once the new town was prospering as at least one house was erected on a possible burgage area. The disappearance of any plot boundaries around the castle or Broken Bank suggesting the land was returned to agricultural use.

Plan Unit II – The New Town

The majority of the new town presents a remarkably uniform and compact plan (sub-unit IIa). Its form only becoming less dense at two of its extremities - the area around the bridge head (sub-unit IIb) and the upper (northern end) of Church Street (sub-unit IIc), both of which will be discussed separately. See figure 89.

Sub-Unit IIa – Central Area

As Beresford (1988) himself observed, the new medieval town is centred around the T-junction of High Street, Duke Street and Bridge Street, which can easily be seen in figure 89. The whole structure of this plan unit suggests it was laid out in a relatively short space of time and with a definite plan in mind. The uniformity of the plan form, with its regular width and length of plots, is remarkably clear. Back lanes run along the rear of the plots, giving access to the town fields beyond. Several other lanes or alleys are present, most in a north-south orientation, running parallel to the plot lengths and perpendicular to the High Street. They appear to have been part of the original planned layout and would have allowed easy access to the town fields north and south of the High Street.

Some later alley insertions are present, which often happens when space is limited, such as in the two “corner units” at the intersections of Bridge Street and Duke Street with High Street. These were probably created to access workshops at the rear of the plots, effectively creating “back yards” within the plan form. Both the corner units are noticeably more cramped than the other blocks within the Plan Unit, which would be expected given their location as a prime trading area fronting High Street and Duke Street.



Figure 89. Plan Unit IIa - medieval new town central area (market place, High Street, Bridge Street and Duke Street (Digimap, 2016).

The original medieval market area is believed to have been in the triangular area at the intersection with Church Street and High Street. However, two medieval market crosses originally stood at either end of the High Street, both replaced by market halls in the post medieval period. These in turn were demolished in 1768. The hall at the west end was replaced by the King's Head public house, which was demolished itself in 1884 and replaced by the present market hall.

Herefordshire HER lists medieval tenement plots around the less well defined areas of Mill Street and the eastern side of Church Street, on the grounds that it is likely there were burgages here close to the triangular market place. This does not seem unreasonable given that the original plot boundaries are more difficult to discern here, possibly due to later buildings obscuring their form.

Two medieval houses have been recorded in this Plan Unit. The first spans Nos. 36-38 Duke Street and is a 15C timber-framed hall-house, consisting of two gabled wings running north and south with a connecting block between them. The second is at Nos 4-5 Bridge Street, which incorporates part of the timber frame of a 15C/16C building, enlarged and altered in 17C. Their positions in the plan unit are shown by the blue dot (36-38 Duke Street) and green dot (4-5 Bridge Street) in figure 89. Many of the other buildings in the High Street, Duke Street and Bridge Street have been dated to 17C indicating a thriving town during this period.

Sub-Unit IIb – Bridge Head Area

Although this sub-unit was laid out at the same time as the rest of the new town, the land adjacent to the Arrow Bridge has been obscured by later development. This gives it less uniformity than in sub-unit IIa. For example, a 16/17C house was removed from the south-west corner of the unit, close to the river, and reassembled on Church Road in the 1930s due to constant flooding in the area. This was then replaced with a garage, now a warehouse with parking area, while opposite stands a modern telephone

exchange building (Lloyd, 2013). All contributing to the erasure of the original plots and their boundaries.

Sub-Unit IIc – Upper Church Street Expansion

Like sub-unit IIb (the bridge head area), the area in this sub-unit is less densely packed than that in sub-unit IIa (the central area). Two tenement plot dates have been suggested here by Herefordshire HER - medieval and post-medieval. The original form of the plots may have been obscured by later building as most date from the 17/18/19C. Those at the lower end of Church Street most probably represent the medieval plots (ie. those in sub-unit IIa), while the ones towards the top may have been laid out at a later date when the town expanded. It is interesting to note that the back lanes of the original burgage plots on both sides of lower Church Street remain intact until they approach the upper end, where they then disappear. Thus perhaps indicating that the plan-seam between IIa and IIc represents the edge of the original planned town.

Town Development Summary

A timeline for the development of the medieval town of Kington would therefore suggest that the motte and bailey castle was constructed late 11C/early 12C, closely followed by the laying out of the first burgage plots on Broken Bank hill next to it. Demand for more burgages saw a deliberate planned development of a new town further down the hill, on the lower lying land close to the River Arrow crossing. The new town being laid out on open fields, which may have lain either side of the east-west route from England to Wales. This happening within a short space of time, as evidenced by the uniformity of its plan form, possibly as early as mid 12C. The old town burgages were gradually abandoned (as was the castle) and returned to agricultural land. The new town may have expanded towards the end of the medieval period or a little later, as shown by the form of sub-unit IIc. It continued to thrive into the Tudor period when the two market crosses were replaced by two market halls. Many of the houses were either rebuilt or remodelled during this time, those in High Street, Bridge Street and Duke Street, dating from this period.

5. Conclusion

This dissertation set out to examine the development of four small towns in the central Welsh Marches region during the medieval period, by adopting a multi-disciplinary approach to the analysis and interpretation of the available data, and a consideration of the wider influences acting on the region. This tied in with the approach advocated by the archaeological research frameworks for both Wales and the West Midlands, who identified certain key themes within the medieval period that were also explored in part here, such as urban settlement and hinterlands, and to a lesser extent castles and churches.

The central Marches area was chosen because it represented one of the least studied for the medieval period and no previous major studies had been conducted on any of the case study towns. It was also partly an exercise to see if a reliable developmental timeline could be constructed for small medieval towns without the more comprehensive range of data that is available for larger towns and cities in the Welsh Marches, such as the studies carried out in Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford and Gloucester (Shoesmith, 1982, 1985; Garner et al, 2009; Baker, 2010).

The data itself was primarily drawn from archaeological and historical sources in the form of HERs and early documentary sources. Other sources were used where available, such as the RCAHMS survey of 15/16C buildings in Presteigne (Suggett, 2005), and select place-name studies from Owen and Morgan (2008) and Gelling (1978, 1994, 2000).

In order to supplement the available data, an urban plan analysis was carried out for each town using early OS maps, utilising a similar approach to that used by Keith Lilley (1995 and 1996), with his work on smaller medieval towns. Here, an early OS map was used as a base to define individual plan units within in each town, which were then subsequently analysed in order to establish an overall developmental timeline.

Since a summary of the urban development of each town has already been seen in Chapter 4, the following will discuss the findings collectively, focussing on the themes and influences explored in the earlier chapters, and enabling some general comparisons to be made between them.

5.1 Discussion of Findings

The whole of the study area was dominated by Anglo-Saxon settlers during the early medieval period to such an extent that very little evidence for the presence of native British or Welsh settlements or people remain from this time. Old English place-names still persist in the region today, even to the west of Offa's Dyke (see table 3). Only to the north of Clun, along the western border of Shropshire with Powys, do major Welsh place-names start to reappear, although minor place-names and field names still remain (Universities of Nottingham and South Wales, 2016). Likewise, to the south of Kington where many "Llan" name prefixes indicate an early Welsh site (from the old Welsh kingdom of Ergyng in south-west Herefordshire).

Clun is the only town of the four believed to have a place-name of British origin and was named after its river. Knighton and Kington are what Gelling (1978) termed "late habitative" place-names, which refer to a social or administrative arrangement, unlike the earlier habitative names, which typically describe topographical features in the landscape and were established in the early Anglo-Saxon migration period. She specifically cites Knighton as belonging to a group of names belonging to a relatively late stage of manorial arrangements. Presteigne's place-name is not as easy to determine as the others as discussed fully in Chapter 3, but probably means "the priest's border meadow" (Coplestone-Crow, 1989) which derives from both an administrative function and a topographical feature (see tables 3 and 6 for examples of topographic, personal, early and late habitative place-name derivations). This would suggest that Clun is the oldest settlement of the three, pre-dating the medieval period, whereas Knighton and Kington are late Anglo-Saxon and Presteigne mid/late Anglo-Saxon. Of course, there is

evidence across the whole region of a prehistoric presence, but this dissertation has focussed solely on the medieval period.

The dominance and persistence of the Anglo-Saxon presence in the area may be due to two long-lasting events. The first was the introduction of Christianity in late 7C. The western most settlements falling within the Diocese of Hereford, created for the Anglo-Saxon Mercian sub-kingdom of the Magonsaete, who governed in the West Midlands (Pretty, 1989). The second is the construction of Offa's Dyke which was built on the top of existing parish boundaries and cultivated land (Allen, 1988; CPAT HER 17233; Rowley, 1986), but which further consolidated the western settlements.

All the towns would have been within the Diocese of Hereford, although it is not known if they were served directly by any Minster churches soon after its creation. Only the Church of Andrew in Presteigne possibly incorporates some Anglo-Saxon architectural elements within its building fabric. The most noticeable being the remnants of a tall narrow chancel arch within the north aisle and some lower courses of stonework in its exterior north wall (CPAT, 2016b; Taylor and Taylor, 1965, 1984). It was also set within its own rectangular precinct close to the River Lugg, situated on what would have been the edge of the medieval town. It could have possibly been a daughter church of the nearby Leominster Priory, built to minister to the peoples on the western fringes of the diocese, although there is no evidence to support this theory.

There is no material evidence for an Anglo-Saxon Minster church in Clun. Kington has an oddly misaligned church tower (c1200) which suggests an earlier building stood on the same site, but again there is no evidence to support this. Likewise at Knighton, where there is no evidence of any early medieval building fabric from an earlier church, although it was administered from nearby St Michael's and All Angels Church at Stow, whose name often indicates a religious establishment (Blair, 2005). Stow churchyard is circular, hinting at a British rather than Anglo-Saxon origin.

All the towns had motte and bailey castles at some point after the Norman Conquest, although their date of construction is uncertain in all cases. Knighton actually had two, although the Bryn-y-Castell motte on the south-east of the town was not further developed and nothing is known of its origin. Clun was the only one to be later rebuilt in stone, and as a consequence its form and building sequence are largely known (Morris, 1990, 1993, Remfry 1994, Munby and Summerson, 2002). It is also the only town to have clear evidence of a wider town defensive circuit in the form of a bank and ditch (Turner, 1971; Bond, 1987; Creighton and Higham, 2005; Dalwood and Bryant, 2005a). See figure 21 Chapter 3. Defensive circuits for Knighton and Kington are only conjectural. Both Clun and Knighton had murage grants awarded, which normally signifies an intention to build defences or repair them. Presteigne has reference to a castle ditch, but no trace of town defences.

All the castles took advantage of the natural topography of the sites for their defences. Clun castle is set on elevated ground overlooking a crossing-point of the river and the intersection of a north-south and east-west route, which were most probably in existence prior to its construction. The river acts as a natural barrier to the west and south. Knighton castle was built at the top of a steep slope, only easily accessible from one route which later became High Street and Broad Street. Offa's Dyke is immediately to its west, the River Teme a little further north and the Wylcwn Brook to the south. Presteigne castle is located on a naturally occurring hill, slightly removed from the medieval town but with good views across the surrounding countryside and a major north-west/south-east route through town. Kington is also on a naturally occurring hill with the Back Brook and River Arrow to the north.

Castles and churches in Norman planted towns were often close together, with the church forming an integral part of the overall town plan (Aston, 1985). Only Kington church is close to its castle, its misaligned tower suggesting the castle would have been contemporary with an earlier building on the site and not the existing one. The other three towns have churches some distance from their castles, outside of the later

planned town, possibly indicating they were built at different times, either pre or post-dating the castle.

The routes between all of the towns and their neighbouring Domesday manors and settlements is well defined on early OS maps, implying they could have developed from tracks used during the early medieval period. Whilst it is not possible to say with any certainty that some manors were grouped into larger “great estates”, it is probable that some form of organisation and sharing of resources took place, for those held by the same person, perhaps managed from an “administrative manor”. Kington is a good example here, being held in royal ownership for at least 40 years, both pre and post Conquest. Likewise, Presteigne (*Humet*) and some of the other manors of Osbern fitz Richard, who held them before and after the Conquest.

Clun and Knighton show much more fragmented pre-Conquest holdings. The presence of so many place-names of topographical and personal name origin around Knighton in particular, indicates long term settlement in the area, but not necessarily manors that were part of a larger or multiple estate. In the latter case, you would expect to see more functional names derived from the product or services offered by each manor within the multiple state (Aston, 1985; Aston and Gerrard, 2013). See table 6 and accompanying explanation.

The urban plan analysis of each town showed similarities but also differences, which would be expected given their different topographies and histories. They all showed some element of planning, but the degree to which this occurred varied. A small settlement at Clun was probably in existence close to the river prior to the medieval period. It had developed into a large Anglo-Saxon manor by the time of the Domesday survey so must have been in existence for some time before that. No physical evidence remains suggesting that it may have been on the site of the present castle or town, or was cleared to make way for them. From that point onwards it became a planned town

and was laid out sequentially with individual burgage plots, streets and two sets of town defences as discussed in Chapter 4.

Knighton has no evidence of early medieval settlement, although it is conceivable that there may have been some close to Offa's Dyke where the castle now stands, or at the bridge head with the Wylcwn Brook. The initial planned town was centred around the castle and comprised the market place, High Street and Broad Street and did not expand beyond this until towards the end of the medieval period when the back lane of the burgage plots on the north side of Broad Street was converted into Wylcwn Street.

Presteigne may have grown up as a small settlement close to two NW-SE and NE-SW routes during the early medieval period or close to the (possibly) Anglo-Saxon church of St Andrew. However, it shows evidence of a high degree of planning. Burgage plots were laid out along the two routes, creating High Street and Broad Street. Later Pound lane and Harper's Lane were created, the latter cutting across the burgage plots to the south of Broad Street. St Davids Street was then added, cutting across the church precinct.

Of all the towns, Kington is the one that most clearly shows a high degree of planning from the start. The original burgage plots were situated close to the castle, but were later abandoned when the "new town" was laid out on a green-field site further east close to the River Arrow crossing. A triangular market place, High Street, Duke Street and Bridge Street were all laid out at the same time with uniform widths and lengths of plots with back lanes giving access to the town fields behind them. Only towards the later medieval/early modern period did some small expansion take place outside of the original plan.

A "cultural progression" seems to have taken place across the study area during the medieval period, starting with the native Welsh being pushed westwards by the incoming Anglo-Saxons from 7C onwards, primarily as a result of the introduction of Christianity and the construction of Offa's Dyke. The Anglo-Saxons remained the

dominant force until the coming of the Normans after the Conquest, who in turn displaced them in the same way they had displaced the earlier Welsh.

However, the Welsh may always have been present in the study area but not in any great numbers. More than 60 Welshman were recorded across a total of 18 manors in Shropshire at the time of the Domesday survey (although none were listed as landholders), with distinct areas of “Welshries” and “Englishries” being established by 13C (Lieberman, 2010). Clun had such a Welshry called the Tempsett (or Tempsiter as it became known later) by 1292, when it is named in a grant laying out the rights of the “Welchmen of Tempsett” (Salt, 1858). At the same time, an analysis of tax returns and rent rolls for Welsh towns, showed that 6% of Presteigne’s tenants were Welsh, with 54% in Knighton (Stevens, 2012).

5.2 Limitations

This dissertation has used several sources of data, but most has come from HERs and historical documents. Both have proved difficult to access but for different reasons. Original documentation covering the early medieval period is sparse and what is available is held in several different repositories across England and Wales ie. local records offices (Powys, Herefordshire, Shropshire), National Library of Wales and the National Archives at Kew. A decision was therefore made to only use readily available data that had been transcribed, thus narrowing the field even further.

The HER data, although easier to access than the documentary sources, was also held in separate databases (CPAT, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Archwilio and Heritage Gateway). This made consolidating the data into one database in order to interrogate it across national boundaries very difficult, and as a consequence this approach was not used. A GIS system could possibly have overcome this problem if the raw data was available from each county, and this was tentatively tried with CPAT data, but ultimately not used due to the complexity of the system itself, and the inordinate amount of time taken to produce any useable results.

The urban plan analysis for each of the study towns followed a modified version of that employed by Keith Lilley for his work on small medieval towns (Lilley, 1995, 1996). In Lilley's approach, which is similar to that used by Slater (1990, 2000) and Conzen (1960 and 1988), the individual plot boundaries are plotted out within the larger plan units, and these are analysed alongside the streets and routes for a town. This is then further supplemented with other documentary and historical sources. The original intention here was also to perform a plot boundary analysis, however, after using Clun as an initial test case, it was felt that it did not further the overall analysis of the urban medieval form, and was not used with the other towns.

5.3 Summary

One of the questions this research hoped to address was whether it possible to be able to construct a reliable developmental timeline for a small medieval town without the depth of data normally available for a large town and the answer to that is, yes. However, in order to achieve this, some assumptions had to be made which cannot be backed up by firm evidence, such as the construction dates of the castles, for example. All that can reliably be said for most is that they were post-conquest. Churches and medieval buildings do not usually present too much of a problem as they can often be dated from their architectural features, which can also give a sequence of development. Care needs to be taken though, as features are often hidden or obscured. As seen in Chapter 4, a lot of evidence is still inherent within the urban form of the town's themselves, so much can be achieved with (say) limited documentary evidence, similar to what was done here.

Another question this research also hoped to explore was whether the small medieval towns developed in the same way as their larger neighbours in the border region. This question is difficult to answer without comparing data from a small town with a large town, and was not done here, although some features are universal across both such as castles, churches, burgage plots (narrow side always perpendicular to the street frontage) and new streets. Many larger towns had town walls, although not always for

defence as they often acted as demarcation boundaries between town and countryside, displaying the prosperity of a town, but also as a means to tax those entering or trading within them (Creighton and Higham, 2005).

Finally, this dissertation has examined the available evidence for the four case study towns using archaeological, historical, architectural, cartographic and place-name sources. It has combined this evidence with an urban plan analysis of each town and proposed a summary of its development during the medieval period. A final discussion of the findings and of the wider influences acting upon the towns collectively was also made. In doing this, it has closely followed the approach advocated by Dalwood (2003) when he said,

“One fruitful archaeological approach to smaller market towns would be to work within a comparative framework, seeing different towns as examples of the same settlement type. The goal would be to synthesise archaeological information from a number of different small towns across the region, in order to develop the understanding in a number of thematic research areas” (Dalwood 2003:5).

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APPENDIX A

HER data for Case Study Towns

Clun Buildings & Structures - HER Data			
Date	Town General	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Medieval	Medieval urban form		5485
Post-medieval	Post-medieval Street System	little change between medieval and post-medieval street system	5481
Early Medieval & Medieval	Medieval street system	Routes aligned north-south & east-west that cross by the church are poss pre-conquest	5450
Date	Castle	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Between 1086 and 1140	Motte & bailey castle (possibly timber)		1198
Early 13C?	Castle rebuilt in stone after Prince Rhys burned it in 1186		
Date?	Final form has two baileys and earthworks of medieval garden and water management features		
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Mill N of castle (Walk Mill)	poss located on outer castle bailey	5439
Date	Castle Street	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenement W of Castle St		5457
Date	High Street	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenement E of Market Pl & S of High St		5458
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenement S of High St		5459
12C/13C/14C	Nos 17 & 19 (house & shop)	timber framed, of cruck construction	14506
15C to 17C	No 12 (Part of The Sun Inn)	A 15th century outbuilding, converted to a house probably in the 17th century and remodelled in the mid to late 19th century	13537
Early 18C to late 19C	No 15 (St Catherines) HIGH STREET	A mid to late 18th century house, now flats, and a one time cottage hospital	17957
1682	No 4 (Lower House)	will?	13535
Medieval?	No.4 High Street (Lower House)	Loose Courtyard with farm buildings on one side of the yard	24553
16C/17C	Clun Farmhouse	Poss timber framed with T-plan with gabled cross-wing projecting	14504

Late 17C	No. 14		14507
16C/17C	No. 11 (former farmhouse)	Poss timber framed with L-plan with gabled cross wing	16213
17C	Barn south of No. 4 (Lower House)	17th century timber framed, weatherboarded barn with a coursed limestone rubble plinth	17956
Medieval	No.11 Farmstead	Regular Courtyard T-Plan	24552
Date	Newport Street	Evidence	Shropshire HER
13C	Earthworks N of Newport St	possibly representing town defences	6229
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenements to N of Newport St		5463
Early 16C	Nos 1 to 3 Little Hospital	Cruck-framed hall house now divided into 3. Probably early C16	17965
Late 17C	Nos 4 & 5 Little Hospital	originally timber framed house now cottages	14554
Date	Town Defences	Evidence	Shropshire HER
12C	Possible outer bailey of castle	The most likely position for town defences would be in the area of Kid Lane and Bridge Street where they would have formed an outer bailey of the castle protecting the bridge head and market place	5447
13C	13th century town defences		5448
13C to 15C	Earthwork and below ground remains of Clun town defences of medieval date.	There are traces of a ditch to the North of Newport Street and on the south in bridge Street. The eastern line of the defences could have been at Frog Street, the western being filled by the castle	533
Date	Hospital Lane	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Medieval	Holloway on Hospital Lane	May be linked with line of town defences (see SA5448) as it may mark the town ditch.	5445
1607 & 1618	Almshouses & Trinity Hospital	Founded in 1607 by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, and built in 1618 with alterations of 1857.	13514
Date	Church Street	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Medieval	Medieval churchyard of St George's Church	extent of churchyard not known	5454
C12	St George's Church	Parish church. C12 core with additions of the C13 and C14; C17 & C18 alterations,	13509
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenement W of Church St		5451

Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenement E of Church St		5452
12C	Site of St Thomas Chapel (now gone)	Grant to Wenlock Priory in the reign of Richard I (1189-99)	
Medieval	Suggestion of medieval bridge at bottom of Church St	position of medieval st, market & tenement plots	5438
Date	The Square	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Possible location of medieval market place	16C bldg acted as courthouse, market bldg & goal built to E of motte	5449 & 151 & 5446
Date	Saxon Occupation Area	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Late Saxon	Includes possible manor house & Minster church		5488
Date	Knighton Road	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenement W of Knighton Rd		5453
Date	Enfield Street	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenement E of Enfield St		5455
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenement W of Enfield St		5456
Date	Kid Lane	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenement E of Kid Lane		5460 & 17706
Date	Powells Lane	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenement E of Powells Lane		5461
Date	Ford Street	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenement E of Ford St		5462
Date	Bridge Street	Evidence	Shropshire HER
14C to 16C	Current bridge	Architectural dating	13512
Medieval to Post-Medieval	Tenement between Bridge St & The Square		5480
Mid 18C	The Old Vicarage (Cresswell House)	Parsonage house and railed enclosure	13533

Date	Buffalo Lane	Evidence	Shropshire HER
C14 to C15	Castle Cottage	3 framed bay hall range with projecting 3-framed bay solar cross-wing to West	13513
C18?	OUTBUILDING APPROXIMATELY 10 METRES TO WEST OF CASTLE COTTAGE	timber framed with brick infil	17902
Date	Vicarage Road	Evidence	Shropshire HER
Medieval	St George's Vicarage	poss site of medieval vicarage	5483
C17	Current Vicarage		13515

Knighton Buildings & Structures - HER Data			
Date	Offa's Dyke	Evidence	CPAT PRN
8C?	Possibly used as part of the town's defences in medieval times	Runs on a north/south alignment through western part of town	10000
Date	The Castles	Evidence	CPAT PRN
medieval	Bryn y Castell (4.5m high motte no bailey)		1135
1191/2	Motte (4m high) & bailey (not much remaining) castle		1133
Date	Core of medieval town	Evidence	CPAT PRN
medieval	Market St	predominantly narrow lanes on N & E sides of castle	
medieval	High St	predominantly narrow lanes on N & E sides of castle	
medieval	Plough Rd	predominantly narrow lanes on N & E sides of castle	
medieval	Broad St	predominantly narrow lanes on N & E sides of castle	
	Russel St	possibly traces the line of a defensive enceinte around castle and market place	
medieval	Original Market Place	originally to N of castle	
medieval	Re-sited market place	junction of Broad St & High St	
Date	Possible town defences	Evidence	CPAT PRN
medieval	River Teme to N, Wylcwm Brook to SE, Offa's Dyke to W giving natural protection		
Date	Church St/Church Rd	Evidence	CPAT PRN
14C	St Edward's Church	oldest part 14C tower	16058
medieval/post medieval	St Edward's Churchyard		16107
17C?	No. 3 church St		30039

Date	High St	Evidence	CPAT PRN
17C	Elizabethan market Cross (at junction of High St & Market Pl)	destroyed in 1851	4186
15C	Old house	15C hall house extended in 17C	30055
17C?	No. 6	17C structure behind later frontage	30047
17C	Nos 19 - 22	17C structure behind later frontage	30053
17C?	No. 23		30054
Date	Wylcwm St	Evidence	CPAT PRN
late medieval	The Horse & Jockey	location suggestive of earlier town layout	30095
Date	Broad St	Evidence	CPAT PRN
1637	The George & Dragon		30027
17C	The Swan hotel	has a timber-framed cross-wing	30023
17C	Nos 22 - 25	17C structure behind later frontage	30032 & 30033
17C?	Nos 20 - 21		30031
Date	Bridge St	Evidence	CPAT PRN
17C	The Swan Hotel	has a timber-framed cross-wing	30023
17C	Nos 11 & 12 (Old Mansion House)	has early 17C timber-framed house at its core	30024
Date	Russel St	Evidence	CPAT PRN
17C	Nos 1 & 2	17C structure behind later frontage	30087
Date	Market St	Evidence	CPAT PRN
17/18C	Nos 34 & 35		30079
17/18C	No.45		30082
Date	Station Road	Evidence	CPAT PRN
late 17C/early 18C	No. 22	late 17C/early 18C detailing internally	30090
Date	Bowling Green Lane	Evidence	CPAT PRN
late 17C/early 18C	No. 1	late 17C/early 18C detailing internally	30022
late 17C/early 18C	No. 2	late 17C/early 18C detailing internally	40065

Presteigne Buildings & Structures - HER Data			
Date	Warden Road	Evidence	CPAT PRN
Medieval	Warden Castle		318
Date	Church Street	Evidence	CPAT PRN
10C/11C	St Andrew's Church	late Saxon work in north aisle	322
medieval	St Andrew's Church cross		323
medieval	St Andrew's Churchyard		16307
Date	Broad St	Evidence	CPAT PRN
13C	13C deed mentions bugage plots in "Great St" (Broad St)	deed	
1436 & 17C	Tan House	tree ring date for oldest	30267
16C/17C	Old Bridge Inn (Ford View)		30265
medieval?	Well House (& Well Cottage?)	medieval cross wing	30260
medieval?	Old rectory Barn	trusses reused from a medieval building	30263
16C	The Dukes Arms		30292
	No.9 & The White House (originally one house)	cruck-framed hall with box-framed cross wing	30254
late 16C/early 17C	No.13		30258
late 16C/early 17C	No.14		30259
late 16C/early 17C	The Old Rectory		30261
late 16C/early 17C	Ford View		30265
17C	Nos 11 & 12		30256
17C	Ivy House		30273
17C	Church View (No.1)		30274
17C	Nos 1 to 3 Oak Villas	cruck-framed hall with box-framed cross wing	30281
17C	Hafod		30289
Date	Scottleton St	Evidence	CPAT PRN
15C/16C	Nos 4 & 6 (originally one house)	cruck-framed house with 2 bay hall	30382
17C	Bell House		30381
17C	Nos 1 - 3		30386

Date	Hereford Street	Evidence	CPAT PRN
1463	Whitehall	felling date - box framed hall and cross wing house	30324
late 16C/early 17C	Nos 44 & 45		30315
late 16C/early 17C	Harford House		30322
17C	The Farmers Arms		30306
17C	Nos 2 - 4		30307&8
17C	Nos 46 & 47		30317
17C	Millfield		30323
Date	Back Lane (off Hereford St)	Evidence	CPAT PRN
17C	house (demolished in 1980)	timber-framed house of 5 bays with collared trusses	
Date	High St	Evidence	CPAT PRN
13C	13C deed mentions bugage plots in "King's Highway" (High Street)	deed	
1616	Old Radnorshire Arms	date plaque	321
late medieval	No.42	T-plan house	30350
16C	Corner Shop		30363
late 16C/early 17C	No.47		30355
17C	Nos 2 & 3		30328
17C	No.5	includes some 16C timber work	30311
17C	Nos 6, 7, 8 & 9	No. 9 includes a highly decorated re-used 16C truss plus a wall painting that is no earlier than late 18C	30332, 30334 & 30335
17C	Nos 12 & 13		30337
17C	No.32		30343
17C	No.38		30347
17C	The Castle (house)		30349
17C	No.43, 44, 45 & 46		30351, 30352 & 30354
17C	London House/Cottage		30362
Date	St Davids St	Evidence	CPAT PRN
late 16C/early 17C	Manor House		30371
17C	St Davids House		30370

Date	Harper's Lane	Evidence	CPAT PRN
17C	Myrtle Cottage (Nos 1 & 2)		30304
Date	Mill Lane	Evidence	CPAT PRN
17C	The Old Mill		30364
Date	Slough Road	Evidence	CPAT PRN
17C	Green End House		30390
Date	Lugg Bridge	Evidence	CPAT PRN
17C	replaced earlier stone bridge which was destroyed	John Leland	

Kington Buildings & Structures - HER Data			
Date	Castle Hill	Evidence	Herefordshire HER
12C	Motte & bailey castle	centre of "Honour of Kington"	350
13C	tenement plots to S of castle	ref to burgages in old town (HER)	19249
13C	tenement plots SW of castle	ref to burgages in old town (HER)	19362
medieval?	Tenement plots to N of Castle Hill	proximity to castle?	21925
medieval	Holloway		21924
medieval?	Water Mill to north of Castle	proximity to castle & early borough	19378
Date	Hillside View	Evidence	Herefordshire HER
15C	Nos 1 & 2 The Wych	late 15C timber framing. Poss originally a hall house	16128
Date	Church Road	Evidence	Herefordshire HER
12C	St Mary's Church	sequence of construction	6929
14C/15C	Churchyard cross & churchyard		12133 & 12946
post medieval	Tenement plots to south of Churchyard	Area of post medieval development next to the church	21927
17C	Grammar School	drastically altered school bldg	16178
17C	The Old House/Porch House	extensive timer frame	16125
Date	Church Street	Evidence	Herefordshire HER
medieval	Tenement plots to west of Church Street	map evidence of medieval town	21926
medieval	tenement plots E of Church St	proximity to medieval market place	19367
17C	properties & tenement plots at Church St/High St		15266
post medieval	Tenement plots to west of Church Street	Part of post-medieval extension of town	19377
17C	Royal Oak Hotel	extensively altered inn	7404
17C	32-33 Church Street (formerly the White Lion Inn)	extensively altered inn	7405
Date	High Street	Evidence	Herefordshire HER
14C	No. 13	Open hall cruck frame house	19385
12C?	Market Place	market crosses at both ends of High St	19379, 9366, 9367
medieval	town wells	located triangular open space at west end of High St	9368
medieval	tenement plots to S of High St & market place	proximity to medieval market place	19368
medieval	tenement plots to N of High St & Bridge St	contains 14C hall & 17C & 18C bldgs	19369

17C	both market crosses replaced by market halls (east & west ends of Hight St)		16188? & 19234
17C	No. 21	gabled front & other	16152
Date	The Square	Evidence	Herefordshire HER
post-medieval	extension from medieval stret system giving access to new tennament plots		19363
post-medieval	enement plots to north of The Square	Possibly part of post medieval extension of the town	19381
Date	Common Close	Evidence	Herefordshire HER
post-medieval	tenement plots to north of Common Close	probably part of the post medieval expansion of this part of the town	21928
post-medieval	Tenement plots to east of Common Close	may be part of the pre-1800 town	21929
17C	No. 1	much altered bldg	15406
Date	Duke Street	Evidence	Herefordshire HER
15C	No. 35	Jettied house with moulded bressumer and moulded brackets	16141
15C	Nos 36 - 38	possible one house originally with gabled wings	16142/3/4
medieval	tenement plots to S of Duke St	opposite 19374 and contains 17C & 18C bldgs	19373
medieval	tenement plots to N of Duke St	contains 15C to 18C bldgs	19374
Date	Bridge Street	Evidence	Herefordshire HER
late 15C/early 16C	Nos 4 & 5	originally one building with timber frame	16166
medieval?	Bridging point & ford over River Arrow		19245
medieval	tenement plots to E of Bridge St	contains 15C,17C & 18C bldgs	19370
medieval	tenement plots to W of Bridge St	Bridge St is a medieval road with 17C & 18C bldgs	19371
medieval	tenement plots between Bridge St & high St	streets of medieval date with 17C & 18C bldgs	19372
medieval?	occupation area between Bridge St & Love Lane	possibly gardens or industrial site	19383
Date	Mill Street	Evidence	Herefordshire HER
medieval	tenement plots to S of Mill St	proximity to medieval market place & C17 & C18 bldgs	19380
medieval?	Mill (Possibly Crabtree Mill)	location in poss medieval street	19376
medieval?	Kington Mill (Arrow Lodge Mill)	proximity to medieval town	19375

